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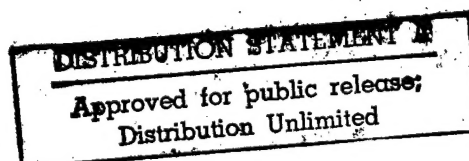
29 June 1983

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 433

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GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO ON SOVIET-U.S. STRUGGLE OVER GUIDED MISSILES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Apr 83 p 7

[Article by Xinhua correspondent Mei Zhenmin [2734 2182 3046]: "Another Round of Soviet-U.S. Struggle Over Guided Missiles"]

[Text] After the fierce struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States over the question of guided missiles in Europe had quieted down for a while, it has now started up again in another round. In the present round both sides have adopted a more uncompromising stand, and the arms race has therefore further escalated.

Whether America will be able to station medium-range nuclear guided missiles in Europe hinges on the attitude of the West European countries, especially on the attitude of West Germany. In the January and February bouts of the struggle, the Soviet Union therefore poured forth a stream of proposals that were very pleasing to the ear, with the intention of influencing the German general elections on 6 March. However, the general elections were won by the candidate of the coalition parties who support the U.S. deployment and the "zero option." This was a setback for the Soviet scheme to create a breach in West Germany, from which to thwart the American deployment plan. Finally, the Soviet Union, on the one hand, adopted corresponding military measures, and, on the other hand, started in the middle of March to launch a propaganda offensive. While charging that in West Germany "reactionary forces are reviving revanchism," the Soviet Union threatened that "if new American guided missiles are deployed in Western Europe, they would increase the threat to the Soviet Union and its allies, and that there would be a prompt and effective answer to any such action." What kind of an answer? A signed article in the PRAVDA of 17 March declared that the Soviet Union will not only increase its guided missiles in Europe, but would also place such missiles in close proximity to the United States. The Soviet Chief of the General Staff Ogarkov also made a statement to the effect that if the United States would attack the Soviet Union with the medium-range missiles which the United States was preparing to station in Europe, the Soviet Union would not only retaliate with attacks on West European targets, but would directly hit the United States.

The United States was not to be outdone. To counter the threat of attacks by Soviet Strategic guided missiles on America, President Reagan on 23 March

declared that he had given orders to work out a long-term plan for the study and development of a defensive system of antiballistic-missile missiles with the ultimate purpose of eliminating the threat of the Soviet strategic missiles for the United States. The U.S. government furthermore threatened through the press that it intends to deploy the Pershing II guided missiles--most worrisome for the Soviet Union--in Alaska close to the Soviet border.

The United States also has its difficulties. At the recent NATO Subcommittee on Nuclear Planning, the West European countries again demanded that the United States submit an alternative plan. There was also a recurrence of the antinuclear peace movement in Europe and in America, and this was steadily expanding. In particular, over 30 members of the U.S. Congress jointly tabled a resolution to freeze all nuclear weapons, an action that had a direct restraining effect on the Reagan government's nuclear rearmament and its intention of deploying new guided missiles in Western Europe. The Soviet Union used and encouraged this third force to exert pressure on the Reagan government. In the face of this situation, President Reagan delivered several long speeches in quick succession in the latter part of March, publicizing the threat of Soviet rearmament for the United States and its allies, enumerating the many steps the United States had taken to limit nuclear weapons, explaining America's worldwide strategic decisions and the placing of missiles in Europe and putting forward a "compromise plan," of a greater flexibility and intended to take the place of the "zero option." He said that the United States is ready to discuss and sign a temporary agreement to greatly reduce the Pershing II missiles and cruise missiles it intends to deploy, on the condition that the Soviet Union will reduce to the level of the American numbers the number of its warheads worldwide, which it will have on its intermediate-range missiles of comparatively long ranges.

After Reagan had put this plan forward, the Soviet media immediately pointed out that this plan was a reprint of the "zero option." In a long talk at a press conference on 2 April, the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko said that the American plan is rejected because "it does not include for consideration the intermediate-range nuclear weapons in England and France and the several hundred nuclear carrier weapons on American planes based in Western Europe and on aircraft carriers. The West European countries, which almost unanimously support the American "compromise plan," are at present exercising pressure on the Soviet Union. The West German Foreign Minister Gentscher told the Soviet ambassador to West Germany on 6 April that if the Soviet Union and the United States do not reach an agreement by autumn this year, West Germany will start as from the end of this year to deploy the American medium-range nuclear missiles in the originally determined numbers. The Soviet Minister of Defense Ustinov, just on a visit to the German Democratic Republic, immediately counterattacked by saying that any Soviet retaliation would be devastating for most West European countries that deploy American nuclear missiles.

The bout between the Soviet Union and the United States makes it clear that the main purpose of both parties in publishing statements and presenting

proposals is to restrict the other party, but increase one's own nuclear stockpile, and also to influence public opinion, but are without much good faith in the negotiations. This fact is determined by their strategic policy, which is one of striving to gain military superiority. The Reagan government has long ago decided to regain America's lost superiority, and the Soviet Union is not averse to reducing construction for civilian purposes in order to maintain and expand its position of superiority in the arms race. Against this background, negotiations on nuclear weapons in the European theater of operations can hardly bring about a reduction of the nuclear threat, unless there is a powerful pressure from outside. At present the Soviet Union is in the process of an intensification and upgrading in the nuclear arms race. The performance of the Soviet Union and the United States in this round of the struggle clearly reveals the grim reality to everyone. The nuclear arms race of the superpowers brings humanity face to face with the danger of a nuclear war. Opposition by the peoples of all the countries of the world against the nuclear arms race of the two powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, now struggling for hegemony, is therefore an essential and organic part of the present overall struggle against hegemonism and for the maintenance of world peace.

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CSO: 4005/702

GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO VIEWS UNEMPLOYMENT IN WEST

HK171439 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 May 83 p 7

["International Jottings" by Feng Xiong [1409 7160]: "Between Men and Cocks"]

[Text] The British daily, THE TIMES, once carried a news report: In a small town, 10 men and a boy were watching two cocks fighting in a courtyard when policemen and officials of the "Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" suddenly arrived. As a result of their activities, these men were seized and brought to a shire court. Eventually, they were fined 3,410 pounds.

When giving evidence in the court, the policemen said that they discovered a small cock fighting ground enclosed with boards. On the ground, a cock was bleeding from its beak, with its right eye closed and its head and neck red and swollen, and another cock was also heavily wounded; both cocks were dying. The judge held that the 10 men illegally played cockfighting games and caused "unnecessary suffering" to the animals. Thus, they were fined.

In Western countries, there are organizations practicing humanity towards animals and corresponding laws for protecting domestic animals and fowls. However, what position do "men," who are the highest animals in the primate order, hold in the humanitarian Western society? There have never been any employers fined for causing the increase in unemployed workers. Unemployed workers who lie stiff in piercing winds, should their suffering be termed "necessary?"

CSO: 4005/862

GENERAL

BA YI URGES BETTER TIES WITH PRC'S NEIGHBORS

OW260545 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 25 May 83

[Text] A country's military training and exercises are aimed at a certain target, and they invariably have a definite imaginary enemy in mind. However, for a long time, the broad masses of our army's commanders and fighters have had confused ideas about this question. The reason is: China has had tense relations with nearly all neighboring nations. It even militarily clashed with some of them. Even now, it is still having bloody clashes with a neighbor. Naturally, this kind of policy of regarding neighbors as enemies does not help the broad masses of commanders and fighters in discerning their true enemies. At the same time, it directly influences the army's military training.

It must be realized that, due to a series of grave mistakes made in our foreign policy in the past, China has had disputes with nearly all its neighbors. Four of China's neighboring countries are socialist nations. Relations between China and three of these four neighboring nations have always been tense. China even militarily clashed with two of them. China and Vietnam have always been on the brink of war.

Since China entered into a dialogue with South Korea, its relations with North Korea have begun to cool off. It is exactly for these reasons that our Shenyang, Beijing, Urumqi, Nanjing, Fuzhou, Chengdu, Guangzhou and Kunming PLA units and the Sizang Military District are now carrying out their tactical training in a different way; they are now faced with a different target. As a result, this has upset the unified training program formulated by the Ministry of National Defense.

In his article "Problems on Revolutionary War and Strategy" written some 40 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong already cited examples to criticize this kind of tactic as exposing oneself to one's enemies on all sides and "striking with four fists." Now, as Japan is intensifying its efforts to restore its militarism aimed against China, the United States is once again actively arming Taiwan and joining Japan and South Korea in conducting many military exercises along China's coastal areas. With U.S. nuclear guided missiles aimed at some 100 strategic targets in China, our army should quickly concentrate its forces to take strategic and tactical steps against U.S. imperialism and Japanese

militarism, and train our troops in light of the military plots, arms and equipment, and operational characteristics of these two countries.

Now that U.S. imperialism is actively building up its military bases around China and organizing military blocs, it is dangerous for China to deal with its enemies alone. It is for this reason that we must quickly change our foreign policy, boldly correct China's line in foreign policy altered by the gang of four in the past, and formulate a new line in foreign affairs which conforms with the abovementioned strategy. Particular efforts must be made to improve China's relations with socialist countries. Only by strengthening unity with the various socialist nations and improving relations with all neighboring countries, can we smash all the plots and provocations of U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism and even more reliably safeguard China's socialist and peaceful construction.

CSO: 4005/862

GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO COMMENTS ON FRENCH-U.S. RELATIONS

HK301230 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 May 83 p 7

["News Analysis" by Zhang Qihua [1728 0796 5478]: "French-U.S. Relations Before the Williamsburg Conference"]

[Text] The summit meeting of seven Western countries will be held soon at the old American town of Williamsburg. Prior to the meeting, there have been frequent maneuvers by the participating countries. France, in particular, has "intensified its criticism of the U.S. economic policy" and the United States has said something in response, thus making the differences between France and the United States over the economic issues very conspicuous.

Judging from the arguments published so far, France and the United States hold widely divergent views on the summit, and there has been a heated debate. In April, a French senior official bluntly criticized the United States for its policy of high interest rates. On 10 May, France again refused to attend the financial and foreign trade conference held by eight Western countries in Paris on the grounds that "the United States attempts to force its view on others." Meanwhile, at the annual meeting of the OECD, President Mitterrand sternly criticized the U.S. monetary policy and indicated that "we shall see whether we are marching along a correct path" with regard to the Williamsburg summit. Western public opinion held that this constitutes "a warning" that "if the summit fails to attain any concrete results, he will feel doubtful about the suitability of this meeting."

The differences between France and the United States over economic policy are multifaceted. On the issue of the international monetary system, due to the consistent strength of the U.S. dollar in recent years, the French franc has been consistently in an unfavorable position in foreign trade. For this reason, the French Government is very much dissatisfied with the current exchange rate. President Mitterrand vigorously called for the establishment of a new international monetary order. Recently, at the annual meeting of the OECD, he proposed the convocation of a new "Bretton Woods conference" in order to implement a new method of fixed exchange rates which will serve as a basis for the establishment of a new and stable international monetary system. However, the United States, not anxious to change the current international monetary

system, objected to this proposal. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan bluntly replied: "I think it is premature to call for holding such a meeting now."

On the interest rate issue, the debate between France and the United States is even more heated. France has been complaining consistently that the high deficit and the high interest rate policy pursued by the United States have damaged the interests of all allies. It censured the United States by saying that the high interest rate policy has not only drawn capital away from Europe but has, in fact, made others pay for the deficit, and that this constitutes a major obstacle to economic recovery. France resolutely demanded that the United States change this policy, which benefits the United States at the expense of others. But the United States has, in fact, rejected the criticism of France and other West European countries by asserting that "there is no proof whatsoever that the current U.S. interest rates are very high." The United States explained that in appropriately calculating the interest rate, it is necessary to deduct the estimated inflation rate from it. If we deduct 6-7 percent inflation rate in the next decade from the interest rate, the actual interest rate will come to only 3-4 percent. It seems that when it comes to their immediate interests, no one is willing to make any concessions easily.

On the issue of trade between East and West, France already had a trial of strength with the United States and succeeded in securing a big transaction for natural gas with the Soviet Union. France held that trade could be separated from diplomacy. Although the previous "special relationship" between France and the Soviet Union is far from being restored, France still stands for developing economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. Proceeding from this point, France made it clear long ago that it would not agree to the discussion at the Williamsburg meeting of the issue of limiting trade with the East. Obviously, this stand is greatly different from that of the United States.

At present, the U.S. economy has started to pick up while the French economy is still fluctuating at a low level. An annually increasing foreign trade deficit as well as the weak and unstable franc have placed France in an unfavorable position at home and abroad. Originally, a drop in the international oil price could reduce French international expenses but, due to the rise in the exchange rate of the franc against the U.S. dollar, France did not derive any benefit from this. It is estimated that with each rise of 10 centimes in the exchange rate between the U.S. dollar and the French franc, France's trade deficit will increase by FR 2.5-2.8 billion. Therefore, it is by no means coincidental that the differences between France and the United States over economic policy should become acute prior to the Williamsburg meeting. France has proposed the convocation of a new "Bretton Woods conference" in order to readjust the exchange rates of various currencies. Since this will affect the entire capitalist world, it seems that it will be difficult to realize this for the time being. The reason for France doing so is to exert pressure on the United States through this conference and to force it to make some concessions. Due to its current huge deficit and heavy national debt, it is also difficult for the United States to effect any big changes.

However, it is generally held that although there are various contradictions between France and the United States, no party wants to bring things to a deadlock. Proceeding from the interests of both parties, France wants to bring these issues out into the open while the United States hopes to work together "politely and amiably" with Western Europe. On the one hand, France needs U.S. support in invigorating the economy. On the other hand, the United States also needs French support, particularly on the issue of deploying medium-range missiles in Western Europe. Moreover, some of the French positions have also won, in varying degrees, the approval and support of West European countries. As the host of the current meeting, the United States is also expected to try hard to alleviate the long-stand disputes between the United States and Western Europe. U.S. official recently said that Ronald Reagan has indicated his "willingness to consider" the possibility of holding an international monetary conference and that he has also claimed that he may agree not to place the issue of trade between East and West on the main agenda of the Williamsburg meeting. These words also seem to be intended for the French.

CSO: 4005/862

GENERAL

ROMANIAN, BELGIAN DELEGATIONS VISIT SHANGHAI

OW291257 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 May 83

[Text] According to a report by XINHUA Shanghai branch, Hu Jijiao, second secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee and chairman of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, held a banquet at the Shanghai Building on the evening of 27 May to welcome the Romanian Ministry of Justice delegation led by Cheorghe Chivulescu.

Both Hu Jijiao and Chivulescu spoke at the banquet, toasting the growing unity and friendship between China and Romania.

The delegation attended as observers on the same evening a public trial of a criminal case by the Shanghai Intermediate People's Court.

The delegation of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party led by Chairman Louis Van Geyt arrived in Shanghai on the evening of 27 May for a visit. Yang Di, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, hosted a banquet on the same evening to welcome the delegation.

CSO: 4005/862

GENERAL

JOURNAL ON INVESTMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

HK010305 Beijing CUOJI WENTI YANJIU in Chinese No 2, Apr 83 pp 10-17

[Article by Chen Zhaoxing [7115 0340 5281]: "Direct Investment of Developed Countries in the Developing Countries--A Preliminary Analysis"]

[Text] Unfortunately it seems that of relations between the Northern and Southern hemispheres, the unclearest situation to assess is that of direct investments, and this situation also turns up the greatest divergence of opinion from every quarter. In assessing overall figures for foreign trade, foreign "aid" and foreign debts and loans, there are annual systematic reports published by the World Bank and other organizations as well as the GATT, and in these areas, disputes between the North and South are very clear and obvious. Direct investment is however a completely different matter, and to date only a few countries such as the United States and Britain have published relevant material. Furthermore, each investment agreement is very different and is calculated on the basis of the investing country's currency, thus making overall comparisons extremely difficult. Only since the 1970's have the United Nations and the OECD begun to tackle this problem but systematic information can only be traced back as far as 1967 and material is published late. Furthermore there is an enormous divergence of opinion concerning the economic effect within the developing countries of such investments. This article tries to analyse developed countries' direct investments in developing countries on the basis of material provided by the United Nations and similar organizations. In addition the article will try to provide a few preliminary ideas about the effect of these investments on the developing countries for all those concerned with the interested in relations between North and South.

1. The Changing Face of Developed Western Countries' Direct Investments in Developing Countries

In the past 10 or so years there have been significant changes worthy of our attention in the direct investments of developed countries in developing countries, from the point of view of the scale of investments, the growth and decline in investments from each country involved as well as investment targets. (In this article "developing countries" are those as defined within the capitalist system).

1. As a proportion of total investments, developed countries' direct investments in developing countries have decreased visibly although the absolute scale of investments is still rapidly expanding.

On the basis of incomplete statistics, developed countries' long-term overseas investments in 1938 were divided up in such a way that 70 percent of total investments were channelled into colonial countries and the remaining 30 percent was divided up between developed countries. After the Second World War, the establishment of the EEC as well as the rapid economic growth in the United States, Japan and Europe meant that investments amongst developed countries increased significantly. At the beginning of the 1970's, 70 percent of developed countries' direct investments abroad were directed at developed countries while investments in developing countries only made up 30 percent. Over the last few years the proportion of direct investments in developing countries by developed countries has continued to fall. According to the most recent UN statistics, current direct overseas investments by developed countries in other developed countries represent three-quarters of total overseas investments, leaving only one-quarter of investments for developing countries.

Although the proportion of developed countries' direct investments in developing countries is falling, the absolute scale of such investments is actually increasing enormously. If we merely look at the period from 1967 to 1980, total investments provided by developed countries for developing countries have increased from \$35 billion to \$117.5 billion, thus increasing 2.36-fold over a 13-year period, thus showing an average annual increase of 10.7 percent. The scale of investments over recent years has continued to expand. Taking Brazil as an example, by the end of 1980 total foreign investment stood at \$17.5 billion and by the end of 1981 this figure had increased to \$19.3 billion.

It should be stressed that investment figures published by the United Nations estimate the scale of actual investments. The investigations that the United Nations make into direct investments are based on the fact that direct investment is only classed as such if a developed country has 25 percent or more controlling shares and in addition, calculations are made on the basis of prices as they were at the time when investment began. (UN Transnational Corporation Center, "A Reexamination of Transnational Corporations in Developing Countries, "English publication, 1978, pp 398, 233, 263, 269). In actual fact, in jointly-owned enterprises, monopoly capital enjoys a dominant position in terms of technology and market sales and thus does not need to have 25 percent of shares to control management, indeed even with as little as 10 percent it is possible to control the enterprise. Thus monopoly capital is jointly-owned enterprises in Asia, Latin America and Africa, where less than 25 percent of shares are held, is normally called negotiable securities investment, although a very large proportion should in fact be counted as direct investment. In addition, when the United Nations calculates direct investment, it does so on the basis of original prices at the time of the first investments and later successive increases in capital. Since prices in Western countries are constantly on the decrease, calculations of the scale of investments on the basis of prices at the time of the original investment cannot accurately reflect the true investment situation. When testifying at the U.S. Senate Committee for

Foreign Affairs, Professor Mi-si-ge-lu-fu [4717 2448 2706 7627 1130] of the United States said that during the mid 1970's the real value of direct American foreign investments was around 60 percent higher than the official book value. ["Report on the United States Economic Symposium" 1981, p 263). Present prices in the West have continued to rise since the mid-1970's and thus the actual value of investments is clearly a great deal more than 60 percent higher than the book value.

2. There have been changes in investing countries but the United States and Britain still occupy the first and second places in investments. However, West Germany and Japan have increased their investments very quickly and have now overtaken France and Holland for third and fourth places respectively.

After the Second World War the United States took advantage of Germany and Japan's defeat and the weakness of such countries as Spain and Portugal and thus carried out unbridled expansion in Asia, Africa and Latin America, vastly increasing its investments with the result that for a long time now it has made up more than half of all foreign investments in developing countries. Although the old colonial countries such as Britain, France and Holland were somewhat weakened by the war they did nevertheless retain a certain amount of strength and thus made up second, third and fourth largest investors respectively in developing countries. During the late 1950's and especially during the early 1960's economic recovery was very fast in West Germany and Japan and thus the world was witness to an "economic miracle" in these countries, whereupon they too began large scale investments abroad, jostling with the United States, Britain, France, and Holland in the investment arena. During the 1970's West German and Japanese investments continued to mushroom. In the mid-1970's West German investments in Brazil had already exceeded those of Britain and France, making West Germany the second largest investor in Brazil behind the United States. Meanwhile Japanese investments in South Korea, Thailand, and Indonesia had overtaken American, British and Dutch investments, making Japan the biggest investor in these regions and countries. There was also a speedy increase in Japanese investments in Hong Kong and the Philippines, making Japan second only to the United States in terms of investments in these two regions. (Frank's "Foreign Businesses in Developing Countries," 1980, published in English, pp 14-15, 204). According to the most recently published investigative report by the United Nations and OECD, during the period from 1967 to 1980, total West German investments in developing countries increased from \$1.198 billion to \$10.238 billion while during the same period total Japanese investment rose from \$702 million to \$8,577,000,000, increases of 7.5 fold and 11.2 fold respectively over 13 years. Since Japanese and West German investments in developing countries increased faster than American, British, French and Dutch investments, their share of investments in developing countries has increased very significantly. In 1980 West German and Japanese investments in developing countries made up 8.7 percent and 7.3 percent respectively of total investments by developed countries in developing countries, overtaking France and Holland and making them the biggest investing countries after the United States and Britain (see attached table at end of article).

3. There have been changes in the countries and regions in which investment is going on. While Latin America still occupies first position in terms of total investments, capital investments in Asia have now exceeded the scale of investments in Africa and the Middle East.

For many years now developed countries' investments in Africa and Latin America have mainly been channelled into oil exploration and the exploitation of agricultural or mineral resources. For this reason Latin America, Africa and the Middle East which are rich in oil, agricultural products and metal and mineral resources, have been the focal centers of investments. Up until the end of 1967, investments from developed countries in developing countries totaled \$35 billion, of which \$18,449,000,000 was invested in Latin America and \$6,591,000,000 was invested in Africa, making up 52.7 percent and 18.8 percent respectively of total investments. Investments in Asia (not including the Middle East) only totalled \$4,992,000,000, 14.3 percent of total investments.

Since the end of the 1960's and especially since the 1970's there have been very obvious changes in the distribution of investments by developed countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. In the Middle East and in Africa there was a rise in the nationalization of foreign investments in many countries, forcing a drop in investments in these two areas from developed countries. Within the period from 1970 to 1976 the governments of all countries involved in these two areas took over 590 foreign enterprises, of which 133 were oil companies, 65 agricultural enterprises, 21 mineral and metal exploiting enterprises and 15 public utility companies. (UN Transnational Corporation Center, "A Reexamination of Transnational Corporations in Developing Countries," English edition 1978 pp 398, 233, 263, 269). Because so many countries were carrying out nationalization of foreign companies, foreign capital in these two areas was considerably reduced during the latter half of the 1970's. However, many countries in Latin America and Asia which were politically stable and which had developing markets adopted a very welcoming attitude towards foreign investment and for these reasons more and more developed countries started exploiting resources there and opening up companies, and thus total investments in these areas soared. Between 1967 and 1978 total investments from developed countries in Latin America rose from \$18,449,000,000 to \$50.33 billion while in Asia total investments rose from 4.992,000 to \$23 billion showing increase of 173 percent and 361 percent respectively. Up until the end of 1978 investments by developed countries in Latin America still occupied first position amongst developing countries although investments in Asia had already placed that region in second position, with the scale of investments in Asia 2.5 fold higher than investments in Africa (\$6,558,000,000) and 17.8 fold higher than in the Middle East \$1.22 billion). (Frank's "Foreign Businesses in Developing Countries," English edition 1980, pp 14-15, 204).

4. In order to monopolize supplies of raw materials and ensure that they would rake in enormous monopoly profits, developed countries plundered developing countries' oil resources, agricultural potential and mineral and natural resources to the extreme. Even countries such as the United States, already so richly endowed with natural resources, plundered the natural resources of Latin America, Africa and Asia. West European countries and Japan, relatively

poor in natural resources, spared nothing in their plundering of offshore natural resources, spared nothing in their plundering of offshore natural resources. For these reasons investments from developed countries in developing countries have been mainly in areas such as oil and agricultural and mineral resources while investments in production industries and service industries have been very low. According to UN statistics of the total investments by developed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America at the end of 1967, 50 percent was invested in exploitation industries covering agriculture, oil and metals, (that is if one divides the statistics up into areas of investment). On the other hand, investments in manufacturing and service industries only made up 29.1 percent and 20.9 percent respectively of total investments. (UN Transnational Corporations Center, "Multinational Corporations in Developing Countries," Chinese translation, p 46).

As the above facts suggest, towards the end of the 1960's many Middle Eastern and African countries saw a rise in the nationalization of foreign enterprises. On the other hand, however, manufacturing industries in Asia and Latin America developed very quickly for a variety of reasons and thus monopoly capital investments began to gradually move from a concentration in mining and exploitation industries towards the manufacturing and service industries. They took advantage of certain traits of these countries, namely "wherever there is little capital, land prices are low, wages are low and raw materials are cheap," and established manufacturing and service industries rose and the proportion of investments in mining and exploitation of resources industries dropped. (Above quotation from "Selected Works of Lenin, Vol 2, pp 783,785). According to estimates given by Professor Wei-te-su-si [4850 3675 4790 2448], consultant for the UN Transnational Corporation Center, there has been a move towards manufacturing and service industries and away from excavation and mining industries throughout the structure of investments by developed countries in developing countries. Within the period from 1971 to 1974, of total American investments in developing countries, the proportion for mining and such industries fell from 36 percent to 18 percent while the proportion for manufacturing industries rose from 34 percent to 39 percent, and the proportion for service industries rose from 30 percent to 33 percent. During the same period of time, of total British investments in developing countries, the proportion for mining and such industries fell from 25 percent to 19 percent while the proportion for manufacturing industries rose from 40 percent to 47 percent and the proportion for service industries remained steady at 35 percent. Because Japan is very poor in natural resources, most of its foreign investments tend to be concentrated in mining and excavation industries. However, in recent years there has also been a gradual move towards the manufacturing and the service industries. Up until 1974 a breakdown of Japanese investments in developing countries showed 24 percent of investments in mining and excavation industries, 51 percent in manufacturing industries and 25 percent in service industries. This trend is still continuing to develop. For example, at the end of 1978 a breakdown of U.S. investments in developing countries showed that 17 percent were in mining and excavation industries, 35 percent in manufacturing industries and 48 percent in service industries. (See report on Professor Wei-te-sui-si's visit to China in 1980 and the U.S. magazine BUSINESS TODAY [Shangye Xiankuang], August 1979 p 27).

5. There have been changes in the ways in which investments are carried out, with a gradual adoption of more flexible methods and the adoption of non-shareholder organization as a means of supplementing direct investment.

Since the 1970's monopoly capital has been forced to adopt more flexible methods in investment due to pressure as a result of nationalization of foreign investments in developing countries or an increase in the developing country's shares in jointly-run enterprises. As a result there has been a gradual increase in non-shareholder organization. Monopoly capital has taken advantage of its superior position in terms of technology and sales and has thus drawn up product manufacturing licenses or special permits with developing countries as well as signing product management contracts, product division contracts and technical cooperation contracts. By means of these non-shareholding organizational methods it has continued to control the economic lifelines of the developing countries. After Middle Eastern countries nationalized the oil industry in their countries, Western countries signed oil sales contracts with them and this is a very obvious example of this continued control. Such non-shareholding organization by monopoly capital is not counted as being direct investment since it does not involve the provision of any capital. Nevertheless, resorting to means such as this still allows a certain amount of control over host countries. Although non-shareholder organization is not called direct investment, it does bear the hallmark of direct investment and is as good as a supplementary means of direct investment.

2. The Effect of Direct Investment on the Economies of Developing Countries

What is the actual effect on the national economies of developing countries who receive direct investment from developed countries? Purely from its own interests monopoly capital generally publicizes the great advantages that such investment has on the economy of the host country, but within these developing countries there is a very large divergence of opinion.

In order to protect their interests in Africa, Asia and Latin America, developed countries invariably tend to boast that direct investment contributes greatly to the development of the host country's economy. Take for example the words of the former American Secretary of State Dullus: "Direct investment is able to solve all of the problems facing non-developed countries." Another former American Secretary of State, Kissinger, said: "Transnational corporations have consistently been a forceful tool in achieving modernization both in industrial nations and in developing nations." In October 1981, President Reagan once again boasted at the Cancun Summit that only with direct investment could developing countries be taught how to produce technology and only then could their economic problems be solved. Although they admit that in the past the natural resources of Latin America, Africa and Asia were plundered and there was intervention in and indeed overturning of the host countries' political systems, they believe that there have been radical changes in the situation and that present transnational corporations "have greatly improved their behavior and attitudes" under pressure from host countries and are now extremely law-abiding and no longer play the part of "tools of infiltration." Now they provide money and technology for the host nation, training large

numbers of experts and producing prosperous development in the economies of the host nations. These hackneyed cliches are very obviously nothing more than whitewash for the developed countries' export of capital and a means of sustaining public opinion for continued economic expansion.

Within developing countries themselves there are usually two very divergent views of the effects of direct foreign investment on the host nation's economy. One view maintains an attitude of total repudiation, believing that foreign investment in Asia, Latin America and Africa is extremely damaging and nonbeneficial. Investors exploit and plunder the workers and medium and small-scale enterprises of these countries, cultivating comprador capital, ensuring that economic improvement is dependent on the capitalist economic system. Different scholars even submit that the rulers of developing countries all belong to the comprador or landlord classes and that there can be no development for the economy of the nation and even those who carry out the surveillance of transnational corporations' activities are also serving the foreign monopoly capital and that only with the destruction of the capitalist system and the implementation of a socialist revolution can one even begin to start talking about the development of a nation's economy. The opposite view adopts a position of total acceptance, believing that although foreign capital tends to exploit and rob the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia, its most active role is the development of the economy. Importing foreign capital is not the same as running up international debts and thus there is no need to pay fixed interest during times of both profit and loss, while furthermore, the opportunity to learn from the technology is also available. The economies of host countries prosper because of the importation of foreign capital and thus national capital increases at the same speed. These advocates do admit that foreign capital does mean that the host nation is dependent on the Western economic system but they also consider that mutual interdependence between nations is inevitable and thus there is nothing to be fearful about. Within the majority of countries there is controversy over the acting role of foreign capital in the domestic economy. In Brazil for example, those who oppose the use of foreign capital stress that Brazil's own national capital is still very weak and that competition between Brazil's capital and foreign capital "is like a 4-year-old child in the boxing ring with a 20-year-old adult." Those who are for the importation of foreign capital feel that such capital is extremely helpful to economic development and as the lawyer Wei-aila [4850 1002 8216] said: "Without foreign capital we would still be like the Brazilian Indians of the 16th century, with loincloths and feathers in our hair," thus the economy would be in an extremely backward position. [Shanghai SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO 8 Feb 1982 p 3]

In conclusion then, a total rejection or total acceptance of foreign capital is not necessarily the correct view. In his book "Imperialism Is the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin stressed that one should use "the composite resources of the foundations of economic life" and that one should not use different and separate resources to analyse problems. The collapse of the colonial system after the war gave rise to enormous changes in the political and economic face of the world and developing countries became an important force in reconstruction and regrowth. Today the ruling classes of developing countries do, it is true, belong in some cases to the comprador and landlord classes, but the vast majority belong to the national bourgeoisie. Although

these countries in which the national bourgeoisie has seized power do manifest worker exploitation and have definite connections with foreign monopoly capital, the most important thing about them is their position to imperialism, colonialism, and hegemony and their development of the national economy; thus they have played a leading historical role in this sense. Even those countries ruled by nobility are duty bound to abide by the wishes of the people and seek economic independence. An obvious example is the nationalization of oil which took place in the Middle Eastern oil-producing countries. For developing countries to develop their economies, obviously one of the most important things on which they must depend is their own self-reliance to build up. Thus if they import foreign capital rationally on the basis of the actual situation in their country, adopting restrictive and surveillance measures on this foreign capital then it will be possible for their economies to develop fairly quickly. Lenin said: "The export of capital always affects the capitalist development of the country importing the capital and indeed greatly speeds up capitalist development in that country." (Selected Works of Lenin Vol 2, pp 783, 785) Today the majority of developing countries all employ policies designed to protect the national interests with all countries having restrictive policies on the importation of capital which vary in their limitations as well as various surveillance policies. Such policies include laws which prohibit the investment of foreign capital within jointly-run enterprises and which limit the drawing off of capital and profits. In addition a policy of pluralism in foreign capital sources is practiced as well as in some cases the nationalization of foreign capital. During the mid 1970's developing countries were employing measures such as collective restrictions and foreign capital surveillance and thus brought up "regulations for the behavior of trans-national corporations." Now the vast majority of developing countries are sovereign states and thus contemporary trends are very different from colonial times. The imperialist's era of doing what he pleases as was the case in the colonies is now past and super-economic exploitation in Africa, Asia and Central America cannot but disappear. It is thus very obvious that the absolute rejectionist stance in the using of foreign capital is not necessarily the best attitude to have.

On the other hand it is hard to overestimate the active role of foreign capital in developing countries. The essentially exploitative, plundering and controlling nature of monopoly capital in developing countries can never change. Its use in Latin America, Asia and Africa to develop mining and so on was not intended as a means to help the poor host country develop its economy. Just as Lenin pointed out "We should never imagine that businessmen anywhere in the world will ever become philanthropists." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol 33, p 398). In comparison with the national bourgeoisie of the developing country, monopoly capital is superior in terms of capital, technology and selling markets and when it comes to bargaining, the latter is often in a superior position. It is true that the economy of every country is dependent on the economy of other countries but the economic relations between developing and developed countries are still very unequal and should not be confused with economic relations between developed countries. Up until today only a very small number of developing countries, (usually those who gained early political independence and whose national bourgeoisie has amassed a rich experience in struggles and where the state machine has been used to develop the national

economy) have seen any definite successes in controlling the negative effects of foreign capital. But even in these countries a portion of the overall economic lifelines are still controlled by foreign capital and thus the countries still suffer foreign capital exploitation. As for the vast majority of other developing countries, the weakness of their national bourgeoisie or their inability to draw up comprehensive policies for surveillance of foreign capital has meant that foreign capital does not greatly help their economies while the negative sides of the situation are very obvious.

The negative effect that foreign capital has on the economies of developing countries can be summarized as follows:

1. Control of most of the country's economic lifelines with the result that the host country's development of its national capital is severely blocked.

After gaining independence, developing countries draw up plans to keep an eye on foreign capital but since the economic strength of the country is nothing compared to that of monopoly capital, the economic lifelines of the country still remain controlled to varying extents by Western monopoly capital. Although Venezuela and the Middle East have nationalized oil and have regained the command of setting oil prices thus giving them world-shattering victories, business closely connected with the oil industry such as fuel oils, transportation and shipping and sales are still to a very great extent controlled by the oil companies of developed countries thus making it impossible for the oil-producing countries to free themselves from the grip of Western capital. In the manufacturing industries of developing countries the extent to which monopoly capital controls the industries is very evident. According to investigations carried out by the UN Transnational Corporation Center, during the mid 1970's, sales from manufacturing industries run on foreign capital made up the following proportions of each host developing country's total sales in the manufacturing industry; Ghana, 50 percent, Brazil, 49 percent; Peru, 46 percent; Argentina, 31 percent; Mexico, 27 percent. Western monopoly capital has its greatest hold over developing industries and key industries. In an example such as Mexico, although foreign capital only controls an average of 27 percent of Mexico's manufacturing industry sales, it also controls 84 percent of the country's rubber industry sales, 79 percent of the country's electrical machinery sales, 67 percent of the country's chemical industry sales, 62 percent of machine industry sales and 49 percent of the country's transportation equipment sales. (UN Transnational Corporation Center, "Reexamination of Transnational Corporations in Developing Countries," English edition 1978 pp 398, 233, 263, 269) Thus any attempt by the host country to develop its own national capital comes up against large obstructions, indeed in some cases it is even impossible to develop.

2. The ruthless exploitation and plundering of developing countries by means of monopoly prices and similar methods.

For a long time now monopoly capital has gained the rights to develop oil, mineral and agricultural resources in Asia, Africa and Central America through direct investment, and by forcing the cost of raw materials down, monopoly

capital has plundered and exploited the developing countries. Crude oil is a very good example. In 1973, before the restoration of the rights to determine oil prices, the West kept the price of crude oil at a very low and unrealistic level. From 1961 to 1972 one barrel of Saudi light cost an average of \$1.39. In keeping down the price of crude oil the Western world gained a great deal. According to the author's own initial estimates, and only examining the case of the Middle East, if the crude oil that the American oil company Ai-ke-sen [1002 0344 2773] and its "seven sisters" exported from the Middle East before 1972 at extremely low prices is revalued at 1980's prices, then up until 1972 the Western countries plundered and exploited the Middle East to the value of \$2,000 billion. (Estimate based on material from "The International Financial Statistics Yearbook," 1979 and OECD's "Economic Forecats" July 1981. In 1980 one barrel of Saudi crude cost \$31.03 while from 1961 to 1972 the average cost was \$1.39. Thus if one estimates on the basis of the 1980 cost, with each barrel costing a minimum of \$29.64 and each ton costing a minimum of \$217.85, then up until 1972, 8,373,000,000 tons were exported, making a minimum cost of \$2,075,200,000. After the war and until 1972 the United States, Europe and Japan saw very fast economic development with some countries even witnessing an "economic miracle." To a very great extent, this development was based on very low oil prices. Since the mid 1970's oil prices have gone up despite a struggle but there has been no improvement in the cost of other raw materials, indeed in some cases they are even continuing to fall in price. Material published by the UNFAO illustrate that from 1960 to 1981 the actual price of tea, jute and rubber fell by 60 percent, while the actual price of cocoa, bananas and soybeans fell by between 20 and 40 percent. (AFP, Rome, 26 March 1982). Today the days of cheap oil are over but the days of cheap prices for other raw materials and goods are far from over.

Transnational corporations take advantage of cheap labor in host countries to set up manufacturing industries and then arbitrarily set up commodity transfer prices between the mother and daughter company, thus producing high monopoly profits while the host country suffers. Although increases in the price of oil have seriously hit the economies of developed countries, it is because transnational corporations have turned their attention to investing in manufacturing industries in Asia, Africa and Central America that their profits have not only dropped but have continued to rise. For example, before the 1972 increases in the price of oil, the United States profit rate in its entire investments in developing countries stood at 17.4 percent while in 1979 the profit rate in the same regions had risen to 26.6 percent. (American journal BUSINESS TODAY, July 1980) In many cases the United States profit rate was two or three times the domestic profit rate. Because of the plundering and exploitation suffered by the developing countries it is difficult for them to amass capital and thus the economic growth rate is effected to various extents.

3. The investment and management methods of transnational corporations are often totally unrelated to the needs of economic development in the host country, creating even greater imbalances and instability in the host country.

When transnational corporations open up mines and develop industries in host countries they do so purely in order to seek profit for monopoly organizations

without considering the host country's economic developmental needs. If a host country has a rather weak economy, if it lacks suitable policies for the importation of foreign investment, if the country has an insufficient grasp of information relating to the international economy and if the country lacks efficient methods of control and surveillance of foreign capital, then it will fall into the snare of the transnational corporations and will not be able to pull itself out.

First, transnational corporations are able to organize a high degree of specialized production based on a global strategy, thus for example, in African countries, which produce vast quantities of cotton and natural leather, the corporations set up manmade fibre and artificial leather industries. In African countries where aluminum or bauxite is produced in great quantities but where there is a lack of electric power, they set up aluminum or bauxite manufacturing industries and thus all of these industries are totally opposed to the interests and needs of the host country and they sometimes result in the collapse of the host country's original cotton weaving, natural leather or other industries. The result is that the host country cannot depend on its own advantages in natural resources to gradually create a more comprehensive economic system and the outcome is very often "increase without development."

Second, when transnational corporations set up manufacturing industries in developing countries they very often do not consider the priorities of the host country to develop its backward areas, thus they set up factories in conveniently accessible towns and cities, with the result that the surrounding village population is often blindly attracted to the towns. What often happens in many extremely backward countries is that highly modernized cities emerge, creating "island" or "enclave" economies, thus merely exacerbating the imbalances in the development of the host country. This kind of situation has even emerged in countries such as Brazil with a fairly strong national capital. Even the so-called "father of the economic miracle" the head of the Brazilian Economic Planning Department Nei-tuo [0355 2094], feels that the gap between the economically developed coastal regions of Brazil and the Brazilian interior is widening constantly, making imbalances in regional development even more severe.

Third, the activities of transnational corporations often mean that the small numbers of property owners in the host countries, who have very intimate relations with the transnational corporations, are able to amass the majority of the national revenue and the national finances into their own hands and the result of this is that wage increases for the working people, especially the impoverished rural population, are greatly restricted, indeed in some cases impoverishment even takes place among this part of the population. This produces an increasingly large disparity in the national revenue of each class in the host country and the extent of this disparity is often even greater than in developed countries. According to estimates, during the early 1970's, the 40 percent of total populations in the lowest income brackets received the following proportions of the total national revenue--Brazil, 12.5 percent; Mexico, 10.5 percent; Peru, 8.8 percent; Iraq, 8 percent; Nigeria, 14 percent. The 5 percent of the total populations in the highest income brackets received the following proportions of the total national revenue--Brazil, 38.4 percent;

Mexico, 28.5 percent; Peru, 48.3 percent; Iraq, 34 percent; Nigeria, 38.4 percent. ("Developed and Partially Developed Political Economics" Wei-er-bai [1218 1422] English edition 1979 p 313).

Fourth, the [words indistinct] countries not only cause the host country's economy to relentlessly fall into the economic system of the capitalist world, they also mean that during times of economic crisis, economic difficulties can be passed on to that country by lowering the price of imported raw materials and various other similar means. In times of stability the corporations use legal and illegal means to modify management planning so that the host country's economy becomes even more unstable, indeed the corporations can even cause the host country's financial planning to fail completely. On the basis of the needs of their own global strategy the transnational corporations can alter the daughter company's import and export trade direction as well as its quotas. They can transfer the circulating funds of the daughter company and they can arbitrarily decide commodity transfer prices between the mother and daughter company, regardless of international market prices. The transnationals can avoid damages and losses to their companies caused by changes in the currency rate of the host country by either bringing forward or postponing repayment deadlines between the mother and daughter companies. The outcome is that the host country's financial planning, especially its foreign trade and currency rate management planning, is often impossible to carry out without advance consent and cooperation from the transnational corporation.

4. Transnational corporations use a variety of means to intervene in the domestic politics of the host country, even going to the extent of espionage to carry out subversive activities.

Transnational corporations often intervene in the internal politics of a host country, seeking to make use of any special advantages. Whenever there is political instability, racial conflict or economic strife in a host country, the transnational corporations often train and foster representatives to influence government policies. Some material from the United Nations even went as far as to admit that "multinational corporations often intervene in a very active way in the internal politics of a host country, especially in the case of developing countries." They even collude with espionage organizations to carry out subversion in the host country. The former deputy head of the CIA, Richard Bi-xi-er [3024 6007 1422], said that the intelligence agents secreted within transnational corporations are more efficient than those in the embassies. For this reason the CIA assigned a large batch of personnel to enterprises overseas, thus they would gain intelligence under the guise of being an enterprise employee and wantonly carry out subversive activities. Thus for example the United Fruit Product Company, known as the "Banana Empire" frequently subverted the legal governments of Central America while in 1972 the ITT Corporation toppled Allende from power in Chile.

3. Future Developmental Trends

Since direct investment by developed countries in developing countries means a certain extent of control over the economic lifelines of the host country and

the achievement of high monopoly profits, and since Western economies are going to see continued inflation during the 1980's, these countries will be needing to find outlets for their domestic surplus capital with even greater urgency than before, and thus they will step up their export of capital. On the other hand the majority of developing countries want to make use of foreign capital to speed up domestic economic growth and thus they must draw up suitable policies for restricting and surveilling foreign capital. It seems that the "Regulations on the Behavior of Transnational Corporations" which the countries of Asia, Africa and Central America have struggled to produce to reduce the "side effects" of transnational corporations in the economies of Asia, Africa and Central America, will become the center of controversy in direct investment affairs between the North and South during the 1980's.

In the last 1 or 2 years the East has been preparing public opinion in order to expand direct investments in developing countries. In the 7 December, 1981 issue of the American magazine BUSINESS WEEKLY assessments of the future prospects of American foreign investments were made and it was considered that with the gloomy economic outlook for the European common market countries during the 1980's there was little likelihood of there being any major increase in the importation of American capital there and thus the magazine urged American foreign investment to turn its attention to Pacific coastal countries where economies are developing quickly. Japan, in addition to having quietly made Brazil, Mexico and the ASEAN countries its target for foreign investment a long time ago, in January of last year once again suggested that developed countries and oil exporting countries should organize joint economic planning for Asia, Africa and Central America, calling the plan "The Mitsubishi Composite Plan." The Japanese plan is that every year the United States, Japan, West Germany, the oil-producing countries and other developed countries should put forward \$5 billion, totalling \$25 billion to be used for developing industries and enterprises in developing countries, for building the second Panama canal and other joint projects, for increasing grain production and so on, and in this way invigorate the world economy of the 1980's. Although these enormous plans are difficult to fulfill, developing countries do lack capital and technological strength and many countries and regions want to import foreign capital to develop their economies, and would not reject a massive importation of foreign capital. From 1967 to 1978 importations of foreign capital into ASEAN countries increased from \$2,053,000,000 to \$12,605,000,000. In Brazil the figures rose from \$3,728,000,000 to \$13.52 billion and in Mexico the figures rose from \$1,787,000,000 to \$6 billion, showing increases of 5.14, 2.63 and 2.36 fold respectively over an 11-year period. (Frank's "Foreign Business in Developing Countries" English edition 1980, pp 14-15, 204). The recent economic situation in these countries is very different from previously but, with the exception of certain countries, the speed of economic development is still much greater than in developed countries. Even during the period of the Western global economic crises, these countries showed a certain amount of economic growth. It seems that in the future direct investment from developed countries in developing countries will continue to increase.

Of course, while developing countries absorb foreign capital they will not continue to tolerate the economic control that the transnational corporations wield over their countries nor the plundering and wild exploitation but in order

to stop this they must develop the struggle to establish new rules for international economics which should include the surveillance of transnational corporations activities in their country. They have already formulated the "regulations for the behavior of transnational corporations" which stipulates a country's permanent control over its own natural resources and which forbids intervention in internal politics of a host nation by a transnational corporation and lays down commodity transfer prices between a mother and daughter company and specifies all means of transferring funds and profits and measures for the nationalization of foreign capital. In December 1974 the Uk Economic and Social Council thus decided to set up the [word indistinct] Governmental Transnational Corporation Committee, incorporating 48 countries, including the Soviet Union. This committee was designed to act as a "forum for the ratification of all problems related to transnational corporations throughout the United Nations system and for the exchange of views by all concerned parties."

Later on the Transnational Corporation Center was set up to act as this committee's standing administrative body. The "regulations for the behavior of transnational corporations" as outlined by developing countries has now become a top priority item to be dealt with by this committee. Since 1978 the 48-country committee has met over 10 times and although there has been some development there still exists a great divergence of opinion on substantive provisions between the developed countries from which the transnational corporations come, and the developing countries which play host to them. The present controversy centers around whether or not transnational corporations should include Soviet state-run transnational corporations, whether or not transnational corporations may freely transfer capital and revenue, the scale of jurisdiction that the host country should have over the transnational corporation.

Whether the transnational corporation should respect the domestic laws of the host country or whether it should abide by international law, and so on. In terms of policy these are all extremely powerful questions and technically they are extremely complex and thus there will obviously be no results within the near future. However, developing countries are at the moment assessing their past experiences and struggles and constantly raising the level of their struggle and [words indistinct] struggle of theirs will continue to develop.

Table: Direct investment by Western developed countries in developing countries.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Total at Year's End</u>		<u>Percentage of Total</u>	
	(D1 Million)			
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1980</u>
USA	17,448	56,638	49.8	48.2
EEC	14,373	43,180	41.2	36.7
Britain	6,803	15,014	19.2	12.4
France	2,980	7,537	8.5	6.4
W. Germany	1,198	10,238	3.4	8.7
Italy	879	3,452	2.5	2.9

Holland	1,789	4,715	5.1	4.0
Belgium	692	1,820	2.0	1.5
Japan	702	8,577	2.0	7.3
Other Developed Countries	2,481	9,105	7.0	7.8
Total	35,004	117,500	100.0	100.0

(Source: For 1967 end-of-year figures see UN Transnational Corporation Center "Multinational Corporations in the World's Developing Countries" Chinese translation, p 178. 1980 end-of-year figures based on Frank's "Foreign Enterprises in Developing Countries," 1980 English edition, p 13 and 1981 OECD "Development Cooperation," pp 184-195).

CSO: 4005/862

GENERAL

GUOJI WENTI YANJIU ON NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

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[Article by Yin Chengde [1438 2110 1795]: "Surging Tide of the Times--the Non-aligned Movement"]

[Text] The nonaligned movement, which began 22 years ago, has grown to large proportions through its struggles, and is now an important international organization made up of 100 member states, acting as a lively and powerful force on the world stage. Its tradition of struggling against imperialism, colonialism and hegemony and its aims of seeking and maintaining independence, sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity, and its aims of peace, neutrality and nonalignment, have penetrated deeply into people's hearts and turned the movement into a vast and mighty wave. All the member states of the nonaligned movement are Third World countries and the vast majority of other Third World countries which do not belong to the organization also maintain or lean towards a position of non-alignment. The rise of the Nonaligned Movement is an important indication of the rise onto the international political stage of the independent political forces of the Third World, fundamentally changing the basic character of world politics which is focused on the two superpowers. Analysing the historical origins of the creation of the Nonaligned Movement as well as its developmental traits and its role is useful in fully understanding the Non-aligned Movement and its developmental direction and future.

1. Historical Origins

The Nonaligned Movement grew up during the early 1960's and in historical terms its appearance was not sudden and unexpected but rather it was a profound and inevitable event of the era.

National liberation movements and the victories of anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist people's revolutions in many countries set up the conditions for the rise of the Nonaligned Movement.

After the conclusion of the Second World War, the victories of the peoples of the world over fascism and the considerable weakening of imperialism during the war provided active encouragement and motivation for the revolutionary struggle of suppressed races and peoples, and thus people's liberation movements rolled on with full force, fiercely attacking the imperialist colonial system. From

the end of the war until the start of the 1960's, over 40 countries shook off the fetters of colonialism and won independence. To date over 50 countries have gained independence. Now, apart from a small number of countries and regions which have still not shaken off the chains of colonial rule, the vast majority of former colonies and dependencies have gained independence. The world's colonial system is now fundamentally breaking up, and these new countries which suffered untold long-term hardships under colonialism and slavery now fully treasure their independent sovereignty which they won through struggle. After gaining independence they refused to allow a new set of measures for subordination to take over from the old set of colonial measures for subordination which existed for several centuries in their countries, and thus they mostly elected an independent and nonaligned road to development. The Nonaligned Movement developed as a result of the promotion of national independence movements and has been founded on the emergence of a large batch of new countries.

The Nonaligned Movement was established in 1961 by the late President Tito of Yugoslavia, late President Nassir of Egypt, late Prime Minister Nehru of India and the leaders of various other newly-formed countries, although the concept of nonalignment began to gradually form and develop in the early years of these countries' independence or even during their struggle for independence. The leaders of some newly-independent countries began bilateral and multilateral discussions very early on, all of them underlining their choice for nonalignment, and thus gradually preparing for the establishment of the Nonaligned Movement. It was at the first Asian-African conference which opened in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 that the curtain was raised on the Nonaligned Movement.

The serious challenge of both old and neo-[words indistinct] the newly-formed countries' movements onto a road of united struggle.

After gaining independence the newly formed countries were still faced with serious struggles. At the beginning of the 1960's, although a few countries had won victories in their struggles for national liberation and the colonial system had begun to weaken, in world terms the tasks of national liberation movements were far from completed, and there were still many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America under colonial rule, while the sphere of imperialist colonial influence was still carrying out unbridled suppression of the national liberation movements in some countries; "as long as there still remains an organization and base for colonial imperialism, no independent country can be free." (Speech from the fourth summit meeting of nonaligned countries.) The mission of newly developed countries is closely linked to the mission of any suppressed people and if in the long run they do not eradicate the colonial system then there can be no guarantees for these newly-developed countries' independence and freedom. The pressing task facing newly-developed countries is how to make the struggle even more unified and intimate and how to provide even more effective support for countries and people who have not won independence so that they may throw off colonial rule at an early date.

At the same time independence and sovereignty of newly-independent countries has been constantly under threat from old and neo-colonialism. Although they

may be politically independent, the majority of them still find themselves under varying degrees of economic control and manipulation from Western imperialism. Imperialism always tries to turn this economic control into political control. Old colonialism has still not accepted its failure and will thus jump at every opportunity to have another go at newly-established countries. The Suez War in 1956 and the French bombing of Bizerta Harbor in Tunis in 1961 were examples of crazed attacks against newly-independent countries by old colonialism. In view of the surging trend in national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Central America which were opposed to imperialism and colonialism, imperialists realized that it was no longer possible for them to maintain their brazen styles of colonial pillage and thus they dished up the same thing in a new form, promoting neo-colonialism as a new cover for the continuation of colonial exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Central America. The United States is the major representative of neo-colonialism. Under the guise of "economic aid," the United States uses investment and other similar means to gain economic control of newly-independent countries. By signing "defense treaties," sending over advisors and establishing bases, it is able to wield military control. In the political arena, the neo-colonialist tries every trick in the book to set up a political regime which is dependent on the former. Thus the neo-colonialist does not stop at plotting, subversion, destruction nor even the launching of an armed invasion. The many wars which continued after the Second World War such as the Korean War, the war in Indochina and various military invasions of other countries were all personally initiated by or carried out by a supported representative of the American imperialists. Newly-established countries are generally weak and have not been independent for long and hence do not have a stable footing and thus it is very difficult for them to oppose threats or attacks by neo-colonialists. Only by uniting in a common struggle can they increase their own strength and thwart the plans of the neo-colonialists. The rise of the Nonaligned Movement corresponds with the demands of the people of Asia, Africa, and Central America in their opposition to old and neo-colonialism as well as the demands of the struggles of the people's liberation movements.

The intensification of international tension by opposed military forces pushed the newly-emerged countries into seeking an effective way of maintaining world peace.

After the Second World War the United States relied on the superior and overwhelming position of its economic and military forces in the world to carry out neo-colonialism amongst newly-emerging nations and at the same time implement the "cold war" policy against socialist countries. Later there were changes in the world situation. The Soviet Union, with its increase in might, was not to be outdone and thus the confrontation between the two super powers and their factions intensified tension and dangers in the world situation. The Berlin crisis in 1961 and the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 brought the confrontation and conflict between the two powers to a head, in both cases nearly triggering off a more serious conflict. Both sides have carried out a fierce and tense military arms race for many years now, both of them grasping how to produce large-scale destructive weapons such as atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs. The intensification of the confrontation between the two created an increasing danger to the world of the outbreak of a totally destructive war. The leaders

of many newly-emerged countries regarded this confrontation between the two blocs as the major factor creating world tension and conflict and thus stated that "existing blocs are now developing increasingly strong military, economic and political blocs and thus, judging the situation in terms of logic and the essential nature of the mutual relations, the international situation can do nothing but worsen." (Speech from the first summit meeting of nonaligned countries) One of the biggest characteristics of the opposing blocs was to be found in their military stance, with both sides adopting policies of arms expansion and war preparation, trying to gain military superiority over the opposing side as a means to expanding its own sphere of influence, and then gaining a dominant position in the world. Another characteristic of the policies of the two blocs is economic exclusivity, often finding an excuse to step up embargoes and blockades against a certain country or certain countries outside the bloc. By stepping up economic pressure the victim country is forced to submit to the bloc's will. Thus the principles of the two blocs intensify international tension and destroy mutual trust and confidence between nations, generating explosive conflicts and even the dangerous seeds of destructive war. The newly-emerged countries stress that, on the one hand, "lasting peace can only be achieved after the fundamental eradication of all manifestations of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism" (Speech at the third summit meeting of the nonaligned countries). On the other hand effective measures for reducing international tension and maintaining world peace are for the policies of the nonaligned nations to replace the principles of the two blocs and for "peaceful coexistence" to replace the confrontation of "the cold war." The Nonaligned Movement represents the common desires and demands of the Third World countries and their people to wipe out conflict between the blocs and reduce international tension.

Furthermore, the Nonaligned Movement is an international platform for newly-emerged countries to form a struggle for equal status in the international arena and to defend their legitimate rights. After these countries gained independence they were faced with a system of international relations rife with power politics, with a small number of powerful countries relying on their positions of strength to monopolize international organizations and control international affairs. Newly-independent countries were prejudiced against and were unable to participate equally in international affairs. Not only did they have no rights to speak on major international issues of common interest to all nations, in addition they did not even have any rights to participate in decisions on issues of direct and immediate interest to them. The newly-emerged countries determined to oppose the dictatorial position of a small number of powerful nations over the world's destiny and in deciding mankind's future and thus made fierce demands that these extremely unbalanced and irrational international relations be changed and that big and small countries should all be equal so that there might be a democratization of international relations. The Nonaligned Movement thus embodied the determination of newly-independent medium-sized and small countries to break down power politics and achieve equal rights. As President Tito of Yugoslavia, the chairman of the first summit meeting of the nonaligned countries, said: "The aims of the Nonaligned Movement are to make the superpowers realize that the destiny of the world cannot lie in their hands alone." (President Tito's opening speech at the first summit meeting of the nonaligned nations). The emergence of the Nonaligned Movement represents

a challenge to the power politics of hegemonism and hence a contribution to the democratization of international relations.

2. Successes and Characteristics

Upholding its own principles and aims, the Nonaligned Movement has seen success in promoting the development of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Central America, and opposing imperialism and colonialism. In the struggle to oppose hegemonist power politics and bloc politics and to maintain the independence, sovereignty and equality of Third World countries and achieve democratization of international relations, in the struggle to oppose the invasional and warring policies of the superpowers and maintain world peace and security for every nation, in the struggle to reform old international economic relations and establish new rules for international economics, the Nonaligned Movement has also worked unceasingly and has achieved some encouraging results. Practice proves that the emergence of the Nonaligned Movement speeded up the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system while attacks on and weakening of the imperialists and hegemonists fronts and strength have to a certain extent changed the balance of power in international politics. The Nonaligned Movement represents an important factor in the promotion of world peace, human advancement and the healthy development of the world situation. It also acts as an active manifestation on the international stage of the Third World's opposition to the military role of imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, thereby writing an extremely significant page in the annals of modern world history.

Looking at the development of the Nonaligned Movement, we can see that it has three outstanding features.

(1) Its role and influence increased daily, making it a force on the international stage that could not be easily ignored.

The basic principles and aims of the Nonaligned Movement and the just struggle which is carried out represented the common aspirations and demands of all developing countries and thus it evoked a fierce response and reaction. President Betancur, of Colombia, the most recent country to join the Nonaligned Movement, said that "the aim of his country's request to join the Nonaligned Movement was to ensure our sovereign position." Today many developing countries regard the Nonaligned Movement as synonymous with independent sovereignty and as a banner for maintaining world peace and a platform for upholding justice, giving the movement an increasing centripetal force. The influence of the Nonaligned Movement is expanding constantly. At the same time the two superpowers the United States and the Soviet Union are stepping up the military arms race in their search for world hegemony, implementing expansionist policies, using their strength to bully weaker countries, threatening other countries, intervening, controlling and invading, doing so many evil things that they are losing any credibility, and are thus sinking into a passive and isolated situation. This is of benefit to the development of the Nonaligned Movement. The Third World's call for opposing hegemony is increasing daily and many countries are taking to a path of unified opposition to hegemony. Some countries refusing to form alliances with the two hegemonists. Some countries in Asia, Africa and

Central America which were previously allied to the United States are now shaking off their former alliances with the United States, adding to the ranks of the Nonaligned Movement. Even the present allies of the two superpowers are now tending to diverge from the two hegemonists more and more and some of them have become observer or guest nations in the Nonaligned Movement. When the Nonaligned Movement first emerged it had 25 member nations; today it has 100 official member nations, making up nearly two thirds of the world's countries and representing about half of the total world population. In addition the movement has 18 observer nations and 24 guest nations. The far-reaching ranks of the Nonaligned Movement are exerting a bigger and bigger role and greater and greater influence on the international stage and the days are now forever gone when the superpowers monopolized international affairs and controlled the destiny of the Third World countries.

2. The struggle moves from opposing imperialism and colonialism to opposing the two hegemonists.

From the time when the Nonaligned Movement emerged up until the 1960's, its struggle was mainly focused on the old Western imperialists and American neo-colonialism. By the 1970's the struggle of the Nonaligned Movement had gradually developed into opposing the hegemonism of the two superpowers. At the third summit meeting of the nonaligned countries in Lusaka in 1970, a manifesto was passed censuring "the terrifying balance of power between the two superpowers." At the fourth summit meeting in 1973 there was a further call for nonaligned countries to "effectively exercise their national sovereignty and powers in opposing hegemony in order to consolidate their independence," and "to refuse and reject any kind of slavery and dependency, any intervention and pressure." (Speech at the fourth summit meeting of the nonaligned countries.) For the first time they proposed a principle of opposing hegemony. At every summit meeting of the nonaligned nations after that, the hegemonistic behavior and actions of the two superpowers received strong censure and condemnation. The summit meetings of the nonaligned nations passed many resolutions aimed at the United States' and the Soviet Union's policies of military preparation for war and the intensification of their struggle in every region of the world, demanding that the two superpowers take the lead in reducing arms and proposing that the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and Central America become peace zones. At the conference for foreign ministers of nonaligned countries held in 1981 in New Delhi another resolution was passed demanding that foreign troops be withdrawn from Afghanistan and Kampuchea, with the spearhead of this demand aimed at both large and small hegemonists.

The development of the struggle of the Nonaligned Movement dates back to the end of the 1960's as a reflection of extremely profound changes that occurred in international politics. As American power gradually declined and the colonial system saw a basic breakup in its structure, the Soviet Union's economic and military might increased and began to gain a favorable position within the developmental trend of the balance of military power with the United States, and thus it began to become a superpower, locking itself in a hegemonistic struggle with the United States as it exercised its expansionist policies. In 1968 when it sent troops into Czechoslovakia, it cited "the theory of limited sovereignty" as an excuse for intervention. By the mid-1970's the Soviet Union

had stepped up its southern-directed strategy, struggling with the United States on a global scale. By the end of the 1970's and the start of the 1980's it had expanded the application of "the theory of limited sovereignty" to countries beyond its own allies with a direct occupation of Afghanistan, a member nation of the Nonaligned Movement, while supporting Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, also a member nation of the Nonaligned Movement. American and Soviet hegemonism represent an enormous danger to world peace and to the independence, sovereignty and security of the people of all countries, especially Third World countries. Of course, old colonialism, the racist policies of South Africa, and Israel's invasional forces are today also targets of the Nonaligned Movement's struggle, but in overall terms the struggle of the Nonaligned Movement has now developed into opposing Soviet and American hegemonism. The Nonaligned Movement's struggle to oppose hegemonism is a continuation of a new form of its struggle to oppose imperialism and colonialism and it also illustrates a deepening and ripening of the struggle. Of course, differences amongst the nonaligned countries and differences in their plights means that each country's attitude in handling hegemonism is different. However, the Third World represents the focal target of the American and Soviet struggle and the Third World countries are the main countries to suffer under the two superpower's hegemonistic policies, and thus the contradictions between the two hegemonists and the Nonaligned Movement and other Third World countries are irreconcilable. As the face of hegemony becomes more and more exposed for what it is, so the Nonaligned Movement's opposition to hegemony becomes sharper and more intensified.

(2) More emphasis and underlining of the struggle in the economic sphere.

Looking at its basic principles and aims, the Nonaligned Movement is a political movement. However, from the day that it appeared it has always made the struggle against the economic sphere an important and central part of the movement. As people's struggles for liberation develop and the international economic situation worsens, the nonaligned countries have come to realise more and more the extreme importance of achieving economic independence. The countries feel that "without economic liberation there can be no political independence" and thus economic questions have become more and more prominent on the daily agenda of the Nonaligned Movement. In the most recent summit meetings, special "economic manifestos" have been drawn up, outlining the targets of the struggle in the economic sphere. As far back as the second summit meeting of the Nonaligned Movement in 1967 it was proposed that "New and Just Economic Regulations" be established and this was the start of the call to struggle for the establishment of new international economic regulations and laws. At the fourth summit meeting in 1974 the establishment of new international economic laws was officially made the Nonaligned Movement's program of action. At the fifth and sixth summit meetings further concrete ideas about the establishment of new international economic laws were brought up. At the same time as actively struggling for the establishment of a new set of international economic laws, the Nonaligned Movement was also paying careful attention to South-South cooperation. In 1973 at the fourth summit meeting it proposed the idea of collective self-sufficiency and thus the strengthening of economic cooperation amongst nonaligned countries and other Third World countries as well as their position of mutual coordination in global discussions

became an important aspect of the Nonaligned Movement's struggle in the economic sphere. In 1979 at the sixth summit meeting "the guiding principle, based on the Havana policy, of increased collective self-sufficiency amongst developing countries" was ratified and this was effective in developing South-South cooperation.

The Nonaligned Movement's emphasis on the struggle in economic spheres was not sudden or unexpected. Many nonaligned countries had and still have very backward economies because they suffered so many years of exploitation and plundering and indeed even today some of them still have unitary colonialist economic structures with their economic lifelines generally in the hands of Western countries. With the United States at their head, the Western developed countries managed to hinder and curtail the process of economic liberation in developing countries by creating old unequal economic relations. In this way the developing countries became suppliers of cheap raw materials and labor, investment arenas, product dumping markets, and sources of excessive profits. Through hard work and struggle, many developing countries gradually managed to take control of their own natural resources and some sectors of the economy and thus their economies saw a certain amount of development. But since the old, irrational international economic relations had not been touched, economic development in developing countries came up against enormous problems and obstacles. This has been especially true since 1973, where in the wake of a serious economic crisis, developed countries have been resorting to trade, currency and tax barriers in order to find ways of shifting the economic crisis onto the shoulders of developing countries. For example, in their desperation they suppressed the prices of some raw materials to such an extent that the prices of some basic products exported by developing countries (calculated on fixed prices) were lower than the lowest prices during the 1930's. (The fifth meeting of the nonaligned countries coordination bureau: The Managua Communiqué.) This meant that the international expenditure and revenue balance and the general economic situation in developing countries worsened acutely and thus the poverty/prosperity gap between the South and the North widened even more. This serious worsening of the economic situation was the cause of civil unrest in some developing countries and it also threatened their political independence and their security. The nonaligned coordination bureau announced at its fifth conference that the frightening worsening of the economic situation in developing countries "has become one of the most serious and potentially dangerous political problems of our times." One cannot separate independence and development, nor peace and development. Today the economic problems of developing countries have become political problems and solving these economic problems is the key with which the nonaligned countries and other developing countries may maintain and consolidate their political independence and achieve social stability. In addition, the solution to these economic problems also represents an important factor in maintaining world peace and security. The Nonaligned Movement's emphasis of the struggle in the economic sphere is a manifestation and inevitable result of the Nonaligned Movement's intensification and development.

3. Advancing in the Struggle

The Nonaligned Movement was born and developed amid the struggle to oppose imperialism and colonialism and it grew to maturity in the struggle to oppose the interference and destruction of imperialism and hegemonism. Since the Nonaligned Movement is playing an increasingly important role and finding more and more influence in international politics and since the Nonaligned Movement is striking at the most crucial areas of imperialism and hegemonism, it has come up against hatred and enmity from the imperialists and hegemonists and they are now trying to seek out all kinds of ways of destroying the Nonaligned Movement.

Even before the Nonaligned Movement was formed, when nonalignment was one kind of policy and trend which had just emerged, it suffered attacks and opposition from the imperialists. The former American Secretary of State Dulles once censured some newly-emerged countries who were carrying out policies of non-alignment when he said, "It is immoral," "It is working for communism," and so on, thus trying to smother the Nonaligned Movement in its cradle. After the establishment of the Nonaligned Movement some imperialist countries openly and publically stepped up political and economic pressure on the newly-emerged countries to try and stop them from joining the Nonaligned Movement or obliterate the spearhead of their opposition to imperialism, getting them to adopt "a principle of closeness to the West."

Because the Nonaligned Movement maintained its struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, the Nonaligned Movement and other Third World countries worked hard together to change the one-sided control of the United Nations by a few major powers so that instead the United Nations became a battle front and platform for opposing imperialist power politics, making the imperialists who were used to ordering smaller countries around very uneasy and causing them to lose their former power and prestige. Thus they attacked the Nonaligned Movement and other Third World countries for carrying out "majority tyranny." "The theory of majority tyranny" was a refurbished version of Dulles' "Theory of Immorality," both of them being typical imperialist logic. It has always been imperialist, colonialist, and racist powers which have tyrannized other countries and other peoples while Nonaligned Movement's struggle to oppose invasion and suppression, salvery and domination and the monopolization of international affairs by a few large countries represents an international offensive against tyranny and power for the preservation of justice and truth. The chairman of the fifth summit meeting of the nonaligned nations Mrs B. Bandaranaike said "The Nonaligned Movement never was, is not now, nor ever will be, a tyrant. If we are talking in terms of tyranny, the Nonaligned Movement is the strongest and most effective weapon to oppose other tyrannies. As for these other tyrannies, the world, especially the Third World, has come to know them very well indeed over the last five centuries." (Opening speech of the fifth summit meeting of the nonaligned nations.)

Since the start of the 1970's, as the Nonaligned Movement adopted a stance of opposition to hegemonism, the superpower who called itself a "natural friend" of the Nonaligned Movement has stepped up its attacks and opposition to the Nonaligned Movement. It slanders the Nonaligned Movement calling it "a

"multifarious" and chaotic hodgepodge, classifying the Nonaligned Movement into "developed" powers and "reactionary" powers, demanding that the "developed" powers "overcome" and "wipe out" the "reactionary" powers, trying to cause splits and instigate ruptures in the movement. It is also opposed to the Non-aligned Movement's "classification of the world into rich and poor countries" censuring the fact that the Nonaligned Movement "places" the two superpowers "on a par" and suggests that the two superpowers "have ulterior motives." In these ways it is trying to alter the targets of Nonaligned Movement's struggle and the direction of its opposition to hegemonism. Naturally, this overbearing behavior and these lies were rejected by the Nonaligned Movement. In view of the two superpowers' present intensification of their struggle for world hegemony and the existence of rich and poor countries, these things must be seen as objectively existing facts. Thus the essential nature and spirit of the Nonaligned Movement is to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers and the exploitation of poor countries by rich countries as well as the establishment of a new set of fair international political and economic laws, and therein lies its great influence and significance. This essential quality of the Non-aligned Movement corresponds to a trend of the times and manifests a historic demand and no one can change it. With the failure of these attempts, this superpower then tried to use seductive tactics to get the Nonaligned Movement to give in. It said that it was Nonaligned Movement's "most reliable ally," tempting the nonaligned countries by saying that as long as they gave in to it, they "could have unlimited sources of power" and then it publically announced that it wanted to form an "alliance" with the nonaligned countries. An important reason for the birth of the Nonaligned Movement was to allow newly-emerged nations to maintain their positions as independent sovereign states, thus rejecting alliances with one of the two blocs headed by either the United States or the Soviet Union. This attempt by the Soviet Union thus demanded that the Nonaligned Movement change its own aims and original intentions, changing it into a movement allied to the Soviet Union, so as to act as a little companion in the "bit international community." This in actual fact would demand that the nonaligned countries wipe out their independent sovereignty and wipe out the Nonaligned Movement itself. If we say that opposing the differentiation between rich and poor nations and opposing the placing on a par of the two superpowers is to deprive the Nonaligned Movement of its spirit, then the idea of forming an alliance with the Soviet Union represents cold-blooded murder of the Non-aligned Movement. This attempt of the Soviet Union was illustrated vividly at the sixth summit meeting of the nonaligned nations in Havana in 1979. By using Cuba as its mouthpiece, it tried to take advantage of the host nation's position and steer the conference, making the conference move along in line with the Soviet Union's blueprint and getting the Nonaligned Movement to move into the orbit of the Soviet Union's global strategy. Cuban connived with Vietnam in attempts to get Heng Samrin's puppet government to take over the rightful place of Democratic Kampuchea. Such conniving and plotting and destructive activities were heavily censured and resisted by the nonaligned countries and some countries even withdrew from the conference in indignation. Due to the steadfast struggle of most of the member nations, this plot by the Soviet Union's mouthpiece was foiled and after upholding the political manifesto of the Nonaligned Movement, one of its most fundamental principles, the representative of the Heng Samrin puppet government was ejected from the conference. However, objections from Cuba and Vietnam meant that Democratic Kampuchea was

unreasonably refused its seat at the conference. Recently, India, ignoring the opposition of ASEAN and most nonaligned countries, followed the outrageous precedent set by Cuba, and excluded Democratic Kampuchea from the seventh summit meeting of the nonaligned nations in New Delhi.

The most abnormal act of depriving Democratic Kampuchea of its seat in the Nonaligned Movement is an outstanding instance of intervention and sabotage of the movement by hegemonism. Democratic Kampuchea is a member of the United Nations and it is the only legal representative of Kampuchea and thus should naturally have the right to participate in the Nonaligned Movement. Those people who use the presence of the Heng Samrin puppet government in Phnom Penh as an obstacle for the chairman of Democratic Kampuchea and one of the instigators of the Nonaligned Movement to attend the conference, do not have a leg to stand on. Not only does this make a mockery of international law and the generally recognised standards of international relations, it also ignores and indeed tramples underfoot the principles and aims of the Nonaligned Movement. This is tantamount to recognizing Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea as legal and justifying power politics. This is totally in accordance with the interests and demands of hegemonism. Thus the Yugoslavian newspaper BORBA hit the nail on the head when it wrote that the true nature of a few people's plots and schemes centering around the rights of representation of Kampuchea "is an attempt to lump together and confuse the struggle and aims of the Nonaligned Movement with one or the other of the two blocs." (BORBA, Yugoslavia, January 12, 1983) This is well worth the nonaligned countries' vigilance.

In addition to imperialist and hegemonist intervention, disputes amongst the nonaligned countries themselves have also had a bad effect on the movement as a whole. The majority of nonaligned countries were previously colonies or dependencies of imperialism and after gaining independence they found themselves faced with a variety of different political, economic and social problems and between some neighboring countries there still exist disputes over land, borders, nationalities and religion. Most of these questions have been left over by colonialism. In order to split the Nonaligned Movement and the Third World countries, imperialism and hegemonism often thrust their hands into the very center of the situation, complicating and intensifying these problems and contradictions, and in some cases such action even leads to prolonged military conflicts. This has to a very great extent influenced the unity and further development of the role of the Nonaligned Movement, creating opportunities for hegemonists to expand and infiltrate everywhere.

Furthermore, in the wake of the economic crisis in the capitalist world, the serious worsening of the economies of developing countries has also produced problems for the development of the Nonaligned Movement. The superpowers jump at every opportunity to exert their pressure and take advantage of contradictions and problems in order to produce splits and disintegration in the movement, and this thus affects the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism in some nonaligned countries, and this is particularly true in the struggle to establish new international economic laws and the struggle for unity. In some cases countries even find themselves leaning politically towards one superpower or the other.

In the course of its own development, while the Nonaligned Movement has come up against all sorts of problems and obstacles, it must advance, and is advancing, as a historically developed product of the modern world. Judging by the present international situation and conditions of the times, the struggle to achieve world hegemony that is going on between the two superpowers and the opposition of the people of all Third World countries to imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism still represents "the fundamental reality of our times." Opposition to imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and the preservation of natural independence and world peace is still the long-term strategic task of the nonaligned countries and all the countries of the Third World. The historic task of the newly emerged nations to realize national independence, and especially to realize economic independence, the historic task of the Nonaligned Movement to struggle for the interests of the Third World and the historic task of the Third World to act as an important force in the struggle to oppose imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, are all still far from complete. The times have dictated that the Nonaligned Movement will, and indeed must, continue to struggle to complete its own historic tasks. The Nonaligned Movement must continue to advance forward. In actual fact the movement is right now in a stage of constant development. In recent years, even in Central America which has very few countries in the Nonaligned Movement, there has been a rise in "the nonalignment tide" and more and more Latin American countries are strengthening their tendencies towards independent sovereignty and are drawing closer to the Nonaligned Movement. The Nonaligned Movement is right now in the ascendent and it possesses a strong life force. As long as the Nonaligned Movement upholds its own principles and aims of struggling against imperialist and hegemonistic intervention and destruction, and as long as each member country pays attention to the whole situation, emphasizes unity, seeks common ground while reserving its differences, and solves disagreements on a basis of mutual equality and peaceful discussion, constantly stepping up coordination and unified cooperation within its own ranks, then the Nonaligned Movement can without doubt continue healthy development, advancing more effectively towards its goals and wielding a great and more far-reaching influence and playing an increasing role on the world political stage.

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GUOJI WENTI YANJIU REVIEWS ON BOOK ON EUROPE

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[Article by Zhu Yiqing [4376 6654 0405]: "Knotty Problems for Europe--Comments on 'The End of an Age of Ideologies'"]

[Text] In 1981 a book was published in West Germany which caused quite a stir. The name of the book was "The End of the Age of Ideologies: the Europeanization of Europe" (by Peter Bender, 1981, Severin and Siedler--the book will be translated into Chinese and published by SHIJIE ZHISHI Publishing Company).

The author, Peter Bender, is a fairly well-known journalist in West Germany who has studied the questions of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe for many years and is one of West Germany's advisors on "Ostpolitik." He has written a great many articles and treatises on Ostpolitik and problems relating to West Germany. "The End of the Age of Ideologies" is his most recent work and also the most controversial.

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The central theme or philosophy of this book is to emphasize the increasing distance between Europe (both East and West) and the two superpowers, which is gradually producing a "Europeanization of Europe." The book is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter discusses the situation in Europe after the Afghanistan and Polish crises. The following two chapters trace developments between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since the war and changes in Western policy toward the East. The fourth chapter draws some conclusions based on the content of the preceding three chapters, stating that there is a "de-ideologization" emerging in both the West and the East and thus it will be no longer possible to differentiate between the East and West on the basis of ideology. In the fifth chapter the author discusses the threat to Europe of the two superpowers' dualism while in the following chapter he outlines the differences in interests between Europe and the two superpowers. The seventh chapter discusses problems in Germany while the final chapter outlines the "Europeanization of Europe."

The author feels that the main things which characterized the situation in Europe after the crises in Afghanistan and Poland were the fierce struggle for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, with both East and West Europeans "maintaining a distance between the respective leaders of their alliances," both sides trying to "salvage and continue to maintain detente" with both sides hoping that there will be "mutual rapprochement." This "mutual rapprochement" between Eastern and Western Europe "cannot be reversed." And thus this is creating the necessary conditions for the "Europeanization of Europe" from "the Atlantic Ocean to the Bug River." (The Bug River runs along the Soviet-Polish border.)

In the author's view, the distancing between Europeans and the respective leaders of their alliances began during the 1960's. At that time "differentiation by ideology" throughout the world and especially in Eastern and Western Europe had lost its credibility and not only was the "role of ideology weakening within international relations," it was also "disintegrating in the two European camps." The "de-ideologization" of Europe meant the return of a "European communality" for Europeans and the concept of "Europe" appeared on the world stage as "a competitive value concept."

The author stresses that the interests of the two superpowers are not the same as Europe's interests and this is reflected in geography, history, culture and emotions as well as "differences in interests of security." Both the Soviet Union and the United States are "para-European powers" and at the same time they are both "Pacific and world powers." They have "global strategic interests" and thus merely regard Europe as "one part" of their global strategy, while Europeans feel that Europe is the center of their policies. Europeans feel that in cultural terms Europe is far superior to Russia and America and thus Europe should concentrate on constructing its own "Natural Communality." In terms of security, there are a great many differences of opinion between the two superpowers and Europe, and especially between the United States and Western Europe. Western Europeans feel that they are in the best position to make an accurate estimation of the threat that the Soviet Union poses and even Strauss believes that the Soviet Union has no invasional intentions. The United States tends to emphasize the significance of the military in security while Western Europe feels that the question of security is not merely a "military task" but that in addition it also demands a kind of "political defence," while "politico-economic considerations" are even more important. For example, they believe that "the Soviet Union's interest in the West's economy" can be maintained through economic exchange between the East and West. West Europeans also feel that security for Europe also means overcoming the "dualism" of the two superpowers, and this means "guarding against Moscow" and "guarding against disputes between Washington and Moscow." "Being drawn deeply into strategic disputes between the two superpowers is not at all in the interests of Europe." On the contrary, Europe should withdraw from the struggle for strategic positions between the two superpowers as well as quitting the military arms race between the two superpowers and actively work so that "as many regions as possible" remove themselves from the conflicts between the two superpowers.

On the basis of the above analysis the author advocates that Europe today should and can promote a "policy in the interests of Europe," seeking to gradually achieve a "Europeanization of Europe." The process of the "Europeanization of Europe" can be divided into four stages.

- 1) Eastern and Western Europe "consciously" and "systematically" continue to promote "mutual rapprochement" between them, which has already begun. Both sides exploit their roles fully so that the leader of each alliance adopts a position of "restraint."
- 2) The countries of Europe struggle for independence from the two superpowers. The Western leaders struggle for positions of greater "independent power" within the Western alliance. During this period of time both Eastern and Western Europe still undertake all their duties within their respective alliances but "flatly refusing to aid or serve the superpowers in their struggle for hegemony either in or outside Europe."
- 3) Promote peaceful developments within Eastern Europe. During this time each East European country maintains diplomatic and defence "loyalties" to the Soviet Union, but will gain active freedom within the country by shaking off "the Soviet mould."
- 4) By dispersing the two superpowers' military blocs, Europe will "once again become Europe." At this point Europe will once again play a "world role," having a stabilising effect through its position between the Soviet Union and the United States and between "the North" and "the South."

The author believes that the conditions for achieving the "Europeanization of Europe" are dependent on factors in three different areas. The intensification of contradictions between the North and the South mean that the white industrialized countries have no option but to step up mutual rapprochement. The rise of China as a major world power is becoming "problematic" for both the Soviet Union and the United States. The continued stabilization of relations within Europe means that the United States and the Soviet Union must consider the risk of withdrawing from Europe. Finally, the author stresses that the advancement of "Europeanization" mainly depends on the development of Europe itself.

Due to the author's status and the content of the book, it caught the attention of both Europe and the United States as soon as it was published. Brandt wrote a criticism (DER SPIEGEL, No 23, 1981) and an article in the German weekly magazine DER SPIEGEL in which he expressed his basic agreement with Bender's views, saying that the four stages necessary for the "Europeanization of Europe" were possible. (DER SPIEGEL, No 5, 1982, "German Patriotism" by Brandt) Other political figures in West Germany as well as magazines and newspapers throughout Europe and the United States went on to make their opinions and criticism of the book public. There was a great diversity of opinion and judgment on the book varied widely. However, one common factor emerged from all the reactions to the book and that was the general belief that the book had provoked many questions worthy of intense thought especially in view of the present situation in Europe.

The publication of Bender's book was by no means unexpected. It reflected a political trend of thought common in Europe, especially West Germany. The main points of this trend of thought are that in the wake of a constant intensification of contradictions between the United States and the USSR and the weakening of the two powers' ability to control the world situation, Europeans should consciously promote foreign policies which differ from those of the United States and the Soviet Union, gradually altering the Yalta setup in which the two superpowers divided the rule of Europe.

In terms of historical development, shaking off dependence on the two superpowers, dissolving the two military blocs represented by NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and allowing European affairs to be managed by Europeans, all correspond with the common desires of Europeans and the people of the whole world. Postwar history proves that the peoples of Europe have constantly asked to shake off the control of the two superpowers. However, postwar history also proves that for Europe to shake off the control of the two superpowers is by no means an easy task and the process will be long and arduous, fraught with difficulties.

The control which the two superpowers wield over Europe is focused in the position of the two military blocs. It is true that since the setting up of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact, both West European countries and East European countries have, to different extents and in different ways, shows that they have been at odds with the respective leaders of their alliances. However, Bender is forced to admit that today the two alliances are still "the most powerful military setups with which the East and West confront each other." To take the Warsaw Pact as an example, it is a tool with which the Soviet Union can strengthen its control over Eastern Europe, carrying out intervention and even launch [words indistinct] Soviet Union does not want to loosen its grip on Eastern Europe. On the other hand, inside NATO, while there are many divergences of opinion over military developments in Europe and the division of defence costs and even the strategy towards the Soviet Union, to use Bender's own words, "as long as the Soviet Union remains an overly strong neighbor of Europe," then West European countries need to rely on NATO to resist the strong Soviet military threat and political pressure. As for the United States, it would on no account give up easily and withdraw its troops from Europe, which has been described as "the most important arena for American political, military and economic interests." (American WALL STREET JOURNAL, January 15, 1982: article entitled "Is the Alliance Falling Apart Because of Our Own Political Views?") Judging from Bender's book, the author is very clear about the above facts but he feels that in the future there is still a possibility to convince the two superpowers that a removal of the military alliances would be to their advantage. Everyone hopes that this aspiration of the author's may be realized at the earliest possible date but it is difficult to make any scientific prediction as to when this might be.

In his book Bender also says that Europeans "do not on any account regard the alliance as an ultimate goal, but rather see it as a necessary premise for ensuring that continental Europeanization may develop without danger," because

Europeans deeply believe that "for Europeans to achieve mutual rapprochement demands the continued military existence of both Americans and Russians." There are far-reaching implications in this statement and it is very helpful in letting people understand the thinking of some Europeans. These words reflect exactly the difficult situation confronting Europe. While they may want to change this situation they still lack the ability to handle the dangers that such a change would entail. One American commentary said, figuratively speaking, that Bender was trying to propose a kind of West German "formula for choosing its own path" and thus it required that NATO "be the external machinery for maintaining international law while imperative reforms were carried out." (American, NEW YORK TIMES magazine, November 15, 1981, "Germany's Unease," article by Wei-nuo-ke [4850 6179 4430]). In view of the unhealthy state of the American-European alliance in recent times, people cannot help but ask whether this machinery will be able to stand up to the pressure that these reforms will bring with them.

Perhaps we can say that Bender's concept of using the present to change the present does to a certain extent contain historical dialectical methodology. However the question remains whether or not the Europeans have enough freedom to be able to comfortably steer the development of events. General De Gaulle tried to change the control of Europe and indeed De Gaulle's experiment left profound marks on post European history, but he was unable to fulfill his wishes. Some scholars say that the tragedy of De Gaulle lay in the gap between his strength and his aspirations. Bender, in the preface to "The Europeanization of Europe," stressed Europe's own strength and Europe's own development. It must be admitted that Europe of the 1980's is a long way off from Europe of the 1960's and the two superpowers' ability to control Europe has come up against enormous and unprecedented challenges. However, is it possible in the coming few years that Europe will be able to gain the independent power of which Bender talks? After reading Bender's book and reexamining the situation in Europe, it is still difficult for the reader to give an affirmative answer to this question.

3

In his book Bender suggested the establishment of "A Europe stretching from the Atlantic to the Bug River," and this provides much food for thought. After the war many different formulas were proposed for extending the political concept of "Europe." The crux of the matter is whether or not "Europeanized" Europe should include the Soviet Union. Of course, since the Soviet Union is a hegemonistic superpower, this poses some "knotty" problems for Europeans.

De Gaulle proposed the establishment of a "Europe stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. This formula of De Gaulle's came up against a great deal of criticism. The Americans were not happy with it and the Russians were at a loss, while many Europeans also expressed misgivings and disapproval. Adenauer said of it, "If we are discussing the unification of Europe, then we should not consider a unification with the Soviet Union in the same way as other European countries are forced to unify." "A unification of European countries with the Soviet Union is the same thing as Europe being drawn into the Soviet Union."

He went on to say that "if such a unification only includes that part of the Soviet Union to the west of the Urals, then people are immediately going to ask what should be done about the part of Soviet Russia in Asia. Are you intending to split the Soviet Union? (ADENAUER'S MEMOIRS 1959-1963 appendix: February 1967, former Chancellor Professor Adenauer's speech at the Madrid Cultural Association Hall)

It is true that if the "Europeanization of Europe" which the Europeans are striving for is in order that they may shake off control from the two super-powers then this new Europe cannot include the Soviet Union. So how then should Europe handle the Soviet Union? This is a very big problems. It seems as though both De Gaulle and Adenauer realized the complexity of the problem, but either one of them was able to come up with a complete solution.

Bender said that the formula for "A Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals" was "not clear." The "Europe from the Atlantic to the Bug River" was apparently slightly more clear. However in his book he illustrated the need for recognizing the "special relations" between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and went on to say that Europe also had a duty to promote the "Europeanization" of the Soviet Union. Viewed in these terms, Bender's concept of "Europe" is not very clear at all.

The difficulties in clarifying the concept clearly illustrate the complexity of the whole affair. Everyone can see that there is a division between Western and Eastern Europe with different social systems (leaving aside for the moment the fact that Eastern and Western Europe themselves are by no means unified communities) and in addition there are also two "para-Europes"--namely the two superpowers. According to Bender's way of thinking, one of these two (the Soviet Union) is much closer to Europe than the other (the United States) (not only in geographical terms). In view of this complex situation how can one come up with a true, accurate and realistic concept of "Europe"? It seems that Bender also admits that the question is a complex one. He feels that everything will depend on the development of events.

4

The author's entire concept of "the Europeanization of Europe" is constructed on the basis that the Soviet Union may in the long run reconcile itself with Europe. Although the author admits that this will be a slow process and may not happen until "the next or the following generation" of Soviet communist leaders and that we will have to wait until the Soviet Union has "undergone even greater upheavals" and "has come up against even bigger difficulties," the author nevertheless feels that it is very clear that the Soviet Union will be able to loosen its control over Eastern Europe and give up threatening Western Europe. Thus the author urges Western Europe to act in first "liberating" Western Europe "from the United States." In the author's opinion not only should Western Europe "never again allow Americans to use Western Europe as a base for opposing the Soviet Union," namely "never again allowing the United States to deploy missiles and broadcasting stations in Western Europe which can reach the Soviet Union," but in addition the author also feels

that it is inappropriate for Western Europe to establish its own defence systems. In conclusion the author advocates the need to make the Soviet Union rest assured "of its own security interests" and "the maintained stability of its sphere of influence." In this way the Soviet Union will want to reconcile itself with Western Europe. All of this sounds splendid. One of the characteristics of Bender's book is that it often uses the author's own way of thinking (and that of many Westerners) to deduce or infer the logical behavior of the Soviet Union. However, in view of the Soviet Union's hegemonistic manifestations over many years in international political life, the author's method of getting the Soviet Union to feel at ease does not seem to be a little bit too dangerous for Western Europe.

One of the most important hopes of the author is that the increase in power of the Third World, especially the increase in that of China, will present both the United States and the Soviet Union with some "knotty problems," thereby encouraging the Soviet Union to adopt a position of reconciliation in Europe and making the United States willing to accept the reconciliation in Europe. That Bender cherishes such a hope is not at all strange. There are people like this all over the world, who, because they themselves cannot cope with reality, thus indulge in fantasies, hoping that there is someone else around to do their dirty work.

It is true that the strength of the Third World and the strength of China must inevitably develop and constantly increase. The Third World represents the biggest force to oppose the Soviet Union's and the United States' struggle for global hegemony and from this point of view if Europeans really want to shake off the two superpowers' control, then of course they should strengthen their ties with the Third World. However, Bender and the political forces which he represents illustrate a "double stance" on this question. On the one hand they admit that Europeans should adapt themselves to the trends that the Third World is setting while on the other hand they also advocate unification among white races to oppose the Third World. This reflects one aspect of the difficulties facing Europeans.

Because China maintains a constant and firm policy of opposition to hegemony, if the Soviet Union continues to exercise hegemonistic policies, then it is inevitable that China will present some "knotty problems." However, the present most important economic interests and strategic focuses of the Soviet Union are still in Europe. It is difficult to believe that "knotty problems" which China presents to the Soviet Union because of the latter's hegemonistic policies will make the Soviet Union give up its hegemonism in Europe. One cannot say with any certainty that there are ulterior motives behind this main hope of Bender's, but there is no harm in pointing out that such an idea is more than purely innocent.

Both Eastern and Western Europe are at the moment carrying out mutual rapprochement in order to strengthen their own positions. The mutual relations between Eastern and Western Europe in the future do seem to have the possibility of

further development. This kind of developmental trend is natural and it will definitely help the people of Europe weaken and shake off the control which the two superpowers wield over them.

However, the author speaks very clearly and frankly when he writes "The East needs the West," "in the present tense situation the West can manage without the East, but the East would find it very difficult to survive without the West." In other words, it is not possible for Eastern Europe to leave Western Europe; Eastern Europe simply has to depend on Western Europe. It is not surprising then that some Westerners criticize Bender's book as exuding a certain arrogance.

The fundamental standards for international relations are that every country give mutual respect to sovereignty and development relations of equality and mutual benefit. These standards should also be applied in relations between Eastern and Western Europe. In actual fact, the people of Eastern Europe do not want to be controlled by the Soviet Union nor do they want their countries to be reduced to "countries related to Western Europe." If Western Europe does not develop political and economic relations with every East European country with an attitude of equal treatment, the "mutual rapprochement" between Eastern and Western Europe will not last and Bender's so-called "Europeanization of Europe" will have no hope of reaching the Bug River.

The author takes up a great deal of the book in talking glibly about the "de-ideologization" of relations between Eastern and Western Europe, saying that Eastern and Western Europe are no longer "differentiated by ideology." It is very obvious that the philosophical discussions that the author writes in the book including the main theme of the book, as reflected in the title "The End of the Age of Ideologies" are meant to serve the author's political beliefs. The author says that in Eastern Europe "the communist experiment has failed." He goes on to say that as far as relations between the East and the West are concerned, "apart from the military balance of power, the West is superior to the East in every area." The author stresses that the basic ideas behind West Germany's Ostpolitik is that the struggle against the East "cannot only be carried out through head-on conflicts but also through division and demoralization." The primary consideration of the West is "based on making the policy of detente an offensive policy." Here I do not intend to criticize the internal situation in Eastern Europe; however, while the author appears to have examined the questions from a historical developmental point of view, his conclusion that "the communist experiment has failed" is very obviously his own subjective assumption, reflecting his own wishful thinking, and is extremely rash. As for "the policy of detente" and "Ostpolitik" and the actual results that they have produced, his conclusions seem to be a little too premature.

Let it be said in passing that the author also hinted in the book that after China had ferreted out the "gang of four," it no longer put as much emphasis on ideologies. This illustrates at the very least the author's lack of research on China.

Whenever the general question of Europe is discussed it is impossible to disassociate it from the question of Germany. Bender feels that the question of Germany is "an extremely knotty problem." He also says that the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as many Europeans, "cannot tolerate" the unification of Germany into one German nation since "reunification of Germany" would suggest "a change in the situation in Europe" and thus the question of unifying Germany has to be placed within "the Europeanization of Europe." The author even says that in the "Europeanization of Europe" it is possible that Germany may be unified but there is also the possibility that "the continued division of Germany be the price for the unification of Europe." The author's intentions in saying this are understandable, but these words cannot put the people of other European countries at ease. For many years now many Europeans have called for the unification of Europe, shaking off the divided domination of Europe by the two superpowers. However, these same people have also feared that the so-called "Europeanization of Europe" would eventually lead to "a Germanic Europe." After the publication of Bender's book, some European critics voiced this fear once again.

The question of Germany has always been a problem which, within the development of the general situation in Europe, has been very influential. Because of the present international relations between East and West, the unification of Germany within the foreseeable future can, as Bender himself says, only be "a historical desire" and not "the possibility of a realistic policy" for the German people. Thus the German question remains. Any situation which creates a physical split between the people of one race is abnormal and unnatural.

In recent years, as West Germany's economic strength has grown, this, coupled with the country's special role within East-West relations and the "feeling of nationalism" which has emerged in Germany, has made many Europeans ask themselves, "In what direction will West Germany actually go? In what direction will be feelings of a people who have suffered long-term suppression actually develop?" In his book, Bender takes careful note of these questions but he is unable to provide a clear answer to them. Whatever direction West Germany takes in the future, it will still remain an important and valuable question within the development of the situation in Europe generally.

Since the beginning of the 1980's, the situation in Europe has become exceedingly unstable. Indeed there are still many indications that new changes are brewing in Europe. It was with this background that Bender's book "The End of the Age of Ideologies" was published. The book contains many absurd ideas and it also proposes some very unrealistic policies, but it does also reflect the Europeans' unwillingness to permit the two superpowers to arbitrarily play with the fate of Europe, and their burning desire to shake off the control and intervention of the two superpowers. Although many people may have different opinions about the concept of the stages of the "Europeanization of Europe"

which is discussed towards the end of the book, the expression of the concept does illustrate how Europeans are now thinking very hard and exploring in detail the future road for Europe, in the wake of the intensified struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the great upheavals in the world situation.

The value of Bender's book lies mainly in the number of questions he answers and the many questions he throws up, allowing people to come to a closer understanding of the contradictions in Europe, although this might well not have been the author's intention. Europe represents the global focal point of the two superpowers' struggle for hegemony and within Europe one finds not only the struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States but also the struggle of the Europeans to oppose both of these superpowers. In addition there are not only problems and contradictions in the relations between Eastern and Western Europe, there are also the internal problems of Eastern Europe and the internal problems of Western Europe. And finally there is also the question of Germany and the various problems and contradictions produced by it. All of these problems and contradictions, when together produce an entanglement of knotty problems. And at their very heart has been and always will be the struggle between the two hegemonists and the Europeans' opposition to this struggle.

Some people say that all these problems, contradictions and constraints will mean that Europe can never be free and independent. Others say that because of the intensification of all these contradictions Europeans will eventually take the road to independence and freedom. Looking at the situation from a historical materialist point of view, it is true that people tend to move towards more freedom and thus the latter of the two view points seems to correspond more with the laws of historical development.

Looking back at postwar European history, there have been no less than three occasion on which East Europeans have stood up and struggled to oppose the rule of the hegemonist Soviet Union. In Western Europe, there were many other kinds of experiments in opposing hegemonist rule, after De Gaulle's experiment. All of these struggles and experiments have produced changes in the general situation, sharpening all the contradictions and giving birth to new struggles to oppose hegemonistic rule. It is very likely that during the 1980's the Europeans' struggle to oppose hegemonistic rule and gain true independence and freedom will see new developments.

The peoples of the world are very concerned and fully support the struggle of the European peoples against hegemonism. Thus the last sentence in Bender's book is indeed accurate when it says that this is a European affair which will mainly be decided by the development of Europe itself. The peoples of the world have good reason to believe that the great peoples of Europe will eventually take hold of their own destiny. Europe does, after all, belong to the Europeans.

UNITED STATES

U.S. MEDICAL WELFARE PLAN CUT BY RECESSION

HK181339 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 May 83 p 7

["Newsletter From America" by reporter Zhang Liang [1728 0081]: "The Plight of the U.S. Medical Welfare Plan"]

[Text] In recent years, because of the economic recession and the U.S. Government's policy of cutting welfare spending, various social welfare plans, including the medical welfare system, have been bogged down in a serious crisis.

The "Medicare" system for the elderly and disabled is a component of the medical welfare scheme. At present, elderly and disabled people who are eligible for medicare benefits number about 26 million. Since the 1970's medical expenses in America have been rising, but the financial resources used for medical care have been greatly reduced. Moreover, the Federal Government borrowed \$12.4 billion from the trust fund earmarked for this purpose at the end of last year to rescue the pension system which was on the brink of bankruptcy. Nominally, the money was borrowed; but in fact, it will never be returned. According to estimates by relevant departments, the funds for Medicare for the elderly and disabled will run dry some time in 1987 or 1988; a deficit as high as \$402.9 billion will appear by 1995.

The medical welfare scheme also includes a system of medical insurance. Most Americans have participated in this insurance system under which insurance premiums are borne by both individuals and their corporations. Once a worker is sacked, the corporation he worked for will stop paying his medical insurance premium. Hence, with the increase in unemployment, more and more people have forfeited rights to medical insurance. According to the estimate by the "Acting Committee for Medical Insurance," at present, there are at least 25 million people throughout the country who have lost medical insurance because of unemployment. In the State of Michigan, which has the highest unemployment rate in America, the infant mortality rate rose to 1.32 percent in 1981 from 1.28 percent in 1980. Some experts believe that lack of proper care for pregnant women and infants because of loss of medical insurance is a major reason for the growth in the mortality rate of infants. After losing medical insurance, many people

cannot afford to get medical care. Only when their minor diseases have become serious, will they have no alternative but to be sent to the hospital. According to a survey by a hospital in Manhattan District, New York City, in the past 4 months, the number of patients who came to the hospital requiring emergency treatment, increased by 8 percent. Because of their serious conditions, they had to stay in the hospital for a longer period. In addition, because of the high costs of hospitalization, more and more women have to hire midwives without formal licenses for practicing medicine, when they give birth to children.

The government "Medicaid" plan for poor people is also a component of the medical welfare program. Strict conditions are attached to this aid and people who can have a reasonable standard of living are not eligible for it.

At a time when the medical welfare program has fallen into a tight spot, and thousands and thousands of people are worried about the medical care that they need, President Reagan recently delivered a detailed scheme for reforming the medical welfare program, which called for a great reduction in expenditure in this field in order to hold down the huge budget deficit. The scheme proposed that a medical insurance tax be levied, by which an employee is required to pay \$160 in taxes a year in excess of \$175 a month for family coverage and \$70 a month for individual coverage paid by his employer. Moreover, according to the reform scheme, if a Medicare patient stays in the hospital for 2 weeks, he has to pay \$630 for his share of the cost of hospitalization, showing an increase of 80 percent over the present amount--\$350. As another proposed measure, poor people covered by Medicaid will have to pay \$1 for seeking a medical service or for a 1-day hospital stay.

If President Reagan's reform scheme is adopted, the government may save \$4.2 billion on health costs. But the scheme has caused general objections. At a congress discussion presided over by Senator Kennedy, some elderly and disabled people related their sufferings caused by the ever-soaring costs of living and health care. They are worried that, if the Reagan scheme is approved, many old people who are weak and sick will have no other choice but to "refuse medical care and wait for God's summons."

CSO: 4005/861

UNITED STATES

BA YI WARNS OF U.S. ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES IN PRC

OW260505 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 25 May 83

[Text] Many army personnel and many security departments of military units have held forums and discussion meetings to discuss the Luo Chengxun incident following the announcement of a 10-year sentence for U.S. spy Luo Chengxun. Many comrades said: It was very wrong in the past to overlook U.S. espionage activities out of consideration of Sino-American friendship. The successive cracking down on a number of cases involving U.S. secret agents recently once again showed that, since the founding of the PRC, the United States has never stopped its espionage activities against our country. These activities have become even more blatant since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States and since the open-door policy was put into effect. These views are very correct.

The U.S. Government has been playing the trick of thief crying "stop thief!". On the one hand, it has directed its propaganda machine at home and abroad to spread the lie that many of the diplomatic personnel, visitors and students sent to the United States by mainland China are spies. This caused problems for the FBI because the bureau had to identify these persons. On the other hand, it asked Taiwan, Japan and South Korea to send secret agents into our country and decided to work on our embassy personnel as well as Chinese visitors and students in the United States.

Influenced by U.S. intelligence organizations, 10 percent of our students sent to study overseas have remained abroad. Among those who returned to our country, some were recruited, either by inducement or by deceit, as secret agents by the U.S. Intelligence Agency. Some, like Luo Chengxun, were caught on the spot while attempting to collect national defense, political or economic information.

With regard to this situation, our army's security departments submitted a total of 9 reports in the past 2 years. However, because a certain person of the central authorities did not want to offend the United States and placed the vague "Sino-American friendship" above everything else, no measures were taken to cope with the situation. Had it not been for President Reagan's preemptory action in the Hu Na incident, which hurt the self-respect of a certain person of the central authorities, many U.S. spies would still have remained at large. The Luo Chengxun case, in this regard, is a very typical one.

Luo Chengxun was a reporter for JIEFANG RIBAO in Yanan and an outstanding journalist brought up by our party over the years. He was sent by our party to work in Hong Kong as a reporter and editor for XIN WAN BAO, TA KUNG PAO and WEN WEI PO. He was bought over by the United States precisely at a time when the line to ally with the United States [lian mei lu xian] started to come into effect in our country.

There is a famous remark in the book entitled ZHAN GUO CE [Strategies of Warring States]: It is not too late to mend fences even after some of the sheep have been lost. We must draw a lesson from the Luo Chengxun incident and fully realize the deep-rooted hostility of U.S. imperialism toward the Chinese people. From now on we must redouble our vigilance against U.S. imperialism and deal a most telling blow to all U.S. imperialist activities against China.

CSO: 4005/861

UNITED STATES

RENMIN RIBAO SAYS GOLDWATER BEHIND TIMES

HK030943 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jun 83 p 7

["International Jottings" by Shi Fang: "He Does Not Know the Times"]

[Text] In a radio talk recently, Senator Goldwater of the United States requested that the U.S. Government "explicitly state that it will resort to force in Central America when necessary." He also said: "I believe just threatening is quite enough." Obviously, in the eyes of Goldwater, once a superpower shakes its fist at small countries, they will at once obey with servility.

As a matter of fact, what the United States has done in Central America is far from "threatening." It feeds and arms the Somoza elements of Nicaragua in an attempt to subvert the present government. In addition, there is also a U.S. "military presence" in other Central American countries such as El Salvador and Honduras. The British paper FINANCIAL TIMES said: "The ghost that once wandered in Vietnam has now fallen in Central America." Such a short remark has vividly pictured the United States in Central America.

Goldwater has been a senator for 30 years. We are now in the 1980's, and the Third World has risen long since. Yet Goldwater's thinking remains as old as in the stage of the "gunboat policy." What a pity! He is really unable to see how the land lies.

CSO; 4005/861

UNITED STATES

BRIEFS

LEBANESE EMERGENCY AID APPROVED--Washington, 2 Jun (XINHUA)--By an absolute majority, the U.S. House of Representatives today approved a bill on providing \$251 million in emergency aid to Lebanon. The aid bill stipulates that \$100 million in economic aid will be given to help Lebanon restore its war-torn economy and that another \$151 million will be used to help Lebanon strengthen and reorganize its armed forces. [Text] [OW050847 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1447 GMT 3 Jun 83]

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NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

GUOJI WENTI YANJIU ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

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[Article by Li Tengzhi [2621 7506 0037]: "The Problem of Palestine: Origins and Development"]

[Text] In June 1982, Israel outrageously invaded Lebanon, launched a general offensive against the Palestine Liberation Organization in a vain attempt to wipe out the Palestinian armed forces and obliterate the struggle of the Palestinian people for national rights. The military action taken by Israel with the connivance of the United States and Israeli occupation of Lebanon, have further infringed upon the national rights of the Palestinian and Arab people, thus causing the Middle East situation to become more tense and turbulent. The problems ranging from the Lebanon crisis to peace in the Middle East are all part of the struggle centering on the question of the national rights of the Palestinian people. To seek peace in the Middle East, it is necessary to correctly treat the national rights of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian question has once again become a question which attracts the widespread attention of world opinion.

I. The Zionist Movement and Imperialist Policies

The Palestinian problem came into being from the inception of the Zionist movement.

From before the time when the Jews established their country in the Palestinian areas, the Canaans, ancestors of the Palestinians, had lived in these areas. After the 9th century B.C., the Jewish state began to decline. During the several hundred years thereafter, the Jews were looted and ruled by other nations time and again. Eventually, the Hasmonean Dynasty (140 B.C. to 63 A.D.) of the Jewish state was conquered by the Roman Empire. Following the failure of the Jewish armed uprising against Roman rule in 132-35 A.D., the Jews began to move from Palestine, one batch after another, spreading all over the world. Starting from the 7th century A.D., Palestine became Arabized and the Arabs in Palestine gradually became the local inhabitants. From 1517 to 1917, Palestine was part of the Osman [meaning Ottoman] Empire but its overwhelming majority of inhabitants were invariably Arabs.

In the mid-19th century, a period when the high tide of bourgeois national and democratic revolutions prevailed in Europe, most of the Jews resided in Europe. Jews were for a long time persecuted everywhere in Europe and in particular, in the 1880's, they were massacred and persecuted in Russia on a large scale. At the end of the 19th century, a political trend of thought aimed at the restoration of their state in Palestine emerged among the Jews residing in Europe. In 1896, Theodor Herzl, a Viennese reporter, published a booklet entitled "On a Jewish State," advancing the goal of founding a Jewish state. The first congress of Zionists, initiated by Herzl, was held in Switzerland in 1897. The program stipulated by the congress was to build the homeland of the Jews in Palestine. The congress decided to set up the "Zionist Community" which was responsible for raising funds, buying land, and promoting immigration and other matters. This was the inception of the Jewish political movement.

The Zionist movement emerged at a time when capital imperialism was taking shape in several major capitalist countries. In order to set up a Jewish state, leaders of the Zionist movement unexpectedly disregarded the national rights of the Arabs in Palestine and colluded with imperialists. Herzl and his successors regarded the support of any European power as the basis for realizing their program. (U.S. State Department veteran Edwin M. Wright, *The Great Zionist Coverup*, Cleveland, 1975) Herzl clearly expressed: The state established by the Jewish immigrants in Palestine will become a fortress for Europe to guard against Asia. (Maxim Rodison, *Israel and the Arabs*, Penguin, 1970, quoting Theodor Herzl). It can thus be seen that, from the very inception of the Zionist movement, Zionists chose the road of acting in collusion with imperialists and colonialists.

Herzl went around among the big powers peddling his plan. Only the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland was interested in the plan of the Zionists. In the mid-19th century, the contention for colonies among the major capitalist countries in the world was unprecedentedly acute. The UK was stepping up its efforts to enter into rivalry with France and Russia over the domination of the Middle East, and spared no effort to control the Suez Canal and Egypt so as to ensure the sea-lane leading to its Oriental colonies, such as India. The UK occupied Egypt in 1882 and constructed a naval base in Alexandria in 1896. In 1897, British Prime Minister Salisbury formulated the policy of dismembering the Ottoman Empire and in 1899, he declared that the Persian Gulf areas were a sphere under British control, allowing no other European country to encroach on the areas. However, at this time, the UK had not yet captured the "fertile crescent" hinterland of the Middle East and particularly coveted Palestine in an attempt to make it a natural defence for the canal. The ambition of the UK tallied with the plan of the Zionists. Although Herzl, founder of the Zionist movement, lived in Vienna and the site of its first congress in Basel in Switzerland and the masses who were influenced were concentrated in Eastern Europe and Russia, London very soon became the center for directing the movement.

The UK in collusion with the Jews had coveted Palestine for a long time. There had been some such revelations in the memorandums written by British Foreign Secretary Palmerston in 1840-1841 to the British Ambassador to Turkey.

Palmerston stressed: "Jews in Europe possess a huge sum of wealth," and "the Jewish settlers in Palestine may possibly accept British protection." However, following the rising of Zionism, on the one hand, the UK maintained ties with them and on the other hand, it did not give prompt support to them regarding the opposition of the Arabs. In the course of World War I, in order to raise capital from the Jewish capitalists residing all over the world to finance the war effort, as well as to snatch Palestine in the course of carving up the Ottoman Empire, the UK formally issued the so-called Balfour Declaration on 2 November 1917 supporting the Jews in establishing their "homeland" in Palestine. As an act of war against Turkey, the UK occupied Jerusalem on 9 December, 1917 and British rule over Palestine began. After the event, the League of Nations decided to entrust the UK with "a mandate" over Palestine and demanded that the UK ensure the founding of the homeland of the Jewish nation. The League of Nations also affirmed that the Zionist community was an organ which provided the British with advice and cooperation.

Under the aegis of the British ruling authorities, the Zionist Community moved large batches of Jews into Palestine, took away the land of the Arabs by force or trickery, and drove them out. From 1917 to 1939, Jewish settlers in Palestine increased from 50,000 to 445,000 people. A seed of hatred was thus sown between the two nations. Not all internal sectors of the Zionist movement stood for the principle of relying on imperialists to oppress the Arabs in Palestine. For example, a section of people represented by Martin Buber advocated that Zionists should unite with Arabs to oppose European imperialism. However, because the Zionist Community was influenced by chauvinism, in 1931 the congress of the Zionist Community voted down the proposition of Buber. During the years between the two world wars, in collaboration with Zionism, British imperialism turned Palestine into a British colony in which it oppressed the native Arabs.

Together with other Arabs, the Palestinians constantly waged struggle against the British colonial rule, and in particular, the Palestinian struggle lasting from 1936 to 1939, which was called the "Arab uprising" in history, forced the British ruling clique to consider what policy should be pursued so as to ensure that the Middle East would not fall into the hands of the opposing big powers. As compared with the situation in World War I, the then strategic significance and rich petroleum resource of the Middle East touched off even more contention among the big powers. With its far-flung battlefield abroad, dispersed forces, and insufficient military strength in the Middle East, the UK had to moderate the momentum of the Arab struggle against the UK. Otherwise, the weak links in the Middle East might possibly be broken by Germany. So, on the eve of the outbreak of World War II, the UK revised its policy toward Palestine, a policy characterized by "support for the Jews and opposition to the Arabs" and issued a white paper on 17 May, 1939 restricting the number of the Jewish immigrants to Palestine and the "buying" of land.

Zionists resolutely opposed the 1939 White Paper and accused the UK of violating the Balfour Declaration and its mandate commitments. They favored unrestricted immigration and buying of land, and an early establishment of a Jewish state. They continued to increase the number of immigrants, strengthen their armed forces, and furthermore, launched constant provocations against the

army stationed in Aplestine. From then on, there was discord between the British and the Jews. Having fallen out with the British, the Zionists vigorously strengthened their ties with American Jews. In May 1942, in order to further win the support of American Jews, David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Zionist Community, made a special trip to the United States and called the congress of the Zionist Community in New York. The congress adopted a program in opposition to the British White Paper, claiming that there was no restrictions on the immigration of Jews to Palestine and that immigration affairs should be independently handled by the Jews. The congress was held in the Hotel Biltmore and the decision adopted by the congress was called the Biltmore Resolution. The Biltmore Resolution marked the beginning of the Zionist movement's departure from the orbit of the Great British Empire, that is, its entering into the arms of the United States. Soon afterwards, beginning in 1943, the Jewish armed forces in Palestine stepped up the harassing activities against the British troops. After the end of World War II in 1945, they further strengthened their military forces, crushed Arab resistance, and made preparations for forcing the UK to withdraw and for establishing the state of Israel.

During World War II, the upper bourgeoisie among American Jews became the economic mainstay for the Zionist movement. In immigrating into Palestine and strengthening their armed forces in the later period, the Jews relied mainly on the support of these American Jews. Through the instrumentality of American Jews, the Zionist movement influenced the policies of the U.S. Government. The scheme of Zionism and the ambition of the United States to control the Middle East were identical. After World War II, in order to replace the British and French ruling positions in the Middle East, in collaboration with Zionists, Truman immediately plotted to squeeze the UK out of Palestine. Disregarding the resolute opposition of the Arabs, Truman formulated the policy of support for Zionism. In 1946, he said to the ambassadors to the Arab countries: "Gentlemen, I am very sorry but I have to submit to tens of thousands of people who yearningly hope that Zionism will triumph." From then on, American hegemonic policy formally linked up with Zionism.

The U.S. Government and Zionism put pressure on the UK outside and inside Palestine and demanded that the UK abandon its 1939 White Paper, abolish the restrictions on Jewish immigrants, and turnover all powers to the Zionists at an early date. For this purpose, President Truman directly asked Prime Minister Attlee to issue 100,000 immigration certificates. In the light of its general interests in the Middle East, the UK found it difficult to pursue any longer its policy of "support for the Jews and opposition to the Arabs" and moreover, it was not reconciled to allowing the situation in Palestine to develop to such an extent that the U.S. was unable to control it. The UK took all possible political plans into consideration but each plan required sufficient military strength. At that time, any plan that the UK considered desirable would not work unless the United States supported the UK with actual strength. In 1947, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the division of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. The Jews accepted this partition plan but the Arabs unanimously rejected it. Finally, because of the rejection of the United States and Zionism, and the struggle of the Arab national forces, the UK had to extricate itself, and unilaterally declared the League of Nations

mandate at an end on 15 May, 1948. Thus Israel declared its independence on 14 May, 1948 and the United States immediately gave it diplomatic recognition.

II. The Israeli-Arab Confrontation

Prior to the establishment of Israel, constant armed conflicts between the Jews and the Arabs took place in Palestine. During the 34 years following the establishment of Israel, four wars broke out between the Arab nations and Israel.

The first Arab-Israeli war. While the Zionist movement was rising, the Arab nationalist movement was also growing day by day. Arab nationalists called for the unity of the big family of Arab nations and opposed the colonial rule of imperialists. With the stress on the alliance of all Arab states and regions, Arab nationalism was then called pan-Arabism. Arab nationalists persistently opposed the forced occupation of Palestine by the Jews under the support of imperialists. On the very day when the founding of Israel was proclaimed, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon marched into Palestine precisely under the call of pan-Arabism. They fought for the national rights of the Arab people. At that time, the UK placed hopes on the military victories of the Arab states and attempted to make use of its remaining influence in the Arab states to turn the tide in its favor in the Middle East. For this reason, the UK actually shipped weapons to the Arab states. However, this did not produce any influence on the basic outcome of the war. The development of a war situation was unfavorable for the Arab states. In February-July 1949, the Arab states separately concluded armistic agreements with Israel under UN auspices. These agreements gave Israel control over more territory than had been assigned to the Jewish state under the UN resolution of partition of Palestine. In this war, many Palestinians lost their land and were forced to flee to the neighboring Arab states, and to live in privation as refugees. The national rights of the Arabs in Palestine were further trampled underfoot as the result of the war. This promoted even more the democratic and revolutionary movement of the Arab nations. In the general trend of opposing imperialism and colonialism, the Arab world regarded Israel and Zionism as the main enemy. Any Arab government or political party would be in danger of being cast aside if it did not oppose Israel and Zionism. Up to now for over 30-years, the question of the national rights of the Arabs in Palestine has all along been the crux of the Middle East problem.

The second Arab-Israeli war. The joint war of aggression of the UK, France, and Israel against Egypt was launched mainly because the UK and France were not reconciled to abandoning their colonial privileges over the Suez Canal. The fundamental reason for the Israeli participation in this war of aggression lay in the fact that the Jewish bourgeoisie which ruled Israel and pursued the policy of aggression and expansion abroad and of opposing the Arab nations eagerly availed itself of this opportunity to strike blows at Egypt. Egyptian President Nasser, leader of the Arab nationalists, who resolutely opposed the imperialist-Israeli aggression, had a tremendous influence on the whole Arab world. With the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt, the national revolutions in all Arab countries around Israel were on the upsurge and the anti-Israeli feeling was intensifying day after day. Because of this, Israel

was so particularly hostile to Egypt that in collusion with the UK and France, it launched the war of aggression against Egypt. Being mistaken in its appraisal of the situation, Israel participated in the politically isolated war. This further laid bare the true colors of Israel as being aggressive and expansionist rather than bringing it advantages and made the antiimperialist, anticolonialist, and anti-Israeli feeling on the Arab people run high.

The third Arab-Israeli war. In 1967, Israel assaulted Egypt, Jordan, and Syria and seized the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan River, East Jerusalem, and Syria's Golan Heights. Prior to this war, the line of actual control on the border between the Arab states and Israel was based on the 1949 armistice agreements, which had gone beyond the boundary line formulated under the UN plan for the partition of Palestine. This time Israel, by means of war, further changed the border status quo. This resulted in a situation in which on the one hand, the whole of Palestine was occupied, the Palestinian people were deprived of their national rights and more Palestinians were reduced to refugees, drifting from place to place in foreign lands, and on the other hand, the Arab countries lost significant chunks of their land. The Arab-Israeli conflict thus became more acute.

The fourth Arab-Israeli war. In 1973, in order to wipe out a humiliation and to regain lost territories, Egypt and Syria succeeded in launching offensives. The Egyptian troops fought their way across the Canal and occupied its east bank. Egypt's national self-respect was safeguarded in this war. With petroleum as a weapon, the Arabs gave play to their might during this war. In 1978, Egypt, the United States, and Israel signed the Camp David agreements. In [year indistinct], Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty. In accordance with their agreements, Egypt recovered by stages its lost territory--the Sinai Peninsula. From then on, differences arose between Egypt and the Arab states, and backed by the United States, Israel stepped up its action of annexation and expansion. In June 1982, using the needs of its state security as an excuse, Israel invaded Lebanon on a large scale and launched a general offensive against the PLO armed forces in an attempt to annihilate the PLO armed forces at one stroke and to create conditions for its own overall annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan and of the Gaza Strip. Israel attempted, by taking this opportunity, to write the Palestinian problem altogether from the Middle East political agenda. This produced more unrest in the Middle East situation.

As a nation which historically made outstanding contributions to human civilization, the Jews were, over a long period of time, persecuted by European countries and, in particular, 6 million Jews were massacred in cold blood by the German Nazi Party during World War II. The peoples of all countries have invariably shown sympathy over this and stood by the Jews in this respect. However, relying on the support of imperialism, the Zionist community established the state of Israel in Palestine, wilfully trampled on the national rights of the Palestinian people, and pursued an expansionist policy among the Arab nations. [Words indistinct], it is entirely just for the Arab people to oppose the imperialist-Israeli aggressive policy and to safeguard the national rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

III. The American-Israeli Special Relations

The struggle of the Palestinians against Israeli aggression and for the recovery of their national rights is indispensable to the struggle against U.S. hegemonism. The strength of Israel stems from the United States. Israel itself is a state which is unable to make ends meet and which is heavily in debt. There have been huge deficits in its finances over the years and an unfavorable balance of a huge sum in its foreign trade. Israel relies entirely on foreign loans and external assistance, with U.S. aid as the dominant factor, to balance its revenue and expenditure and its international payments. (In its financial budget, there is, more often than not, a 25 percent deficit which needs to be made up by overseas financial sources. A total of several billion U.S. dollars capital must be imported from abroad every year so as to achieve a trade balance.) Although the United States has rendered Israel free assistance in large quantities, Israeli foreign debts are still continuing to increase. Its foreign debts in 1978 totalled US\$12.2 billion; in 1979, US\$14 billion; and up to November 1982, they had increased to US\$21 billion, an average liability for each Israeli of US\$5,000. Israel is one of the countries in the world most perilously in debt. However, in order to contend with the Soviet Union for the Middle East, the United States gives Israel more and more military and economic aid with more and more liberal conditions. From 1948 to 1972, the United States gave Israel an average US\$220 million in aid every year and from 1973 to 1978 US\$1.5 billion, and in 1982, the former gave the latter US\$2.5 billion in aid. The growth ratio of U.S. military aid was larger than that of U.S. economic aid. From 1948 to 1971, on average, the United States provided military aid to Israel to the tune of US\$56 million annually; from 1973 to 1978, US\$1.3 billion; and in 1983 the figure reached US\$1.7 billion, or an increase of 21 percent over 1982. Calculated according to the military aid given by the United States to Israel in 1982, U.S. military aid to Israel constituted 44 percent of the total amount of U.S. foreign aid. Prior to 1980, 2/3 of U.S. aid to Israel was free aid and beginning in 1981, U.S. aid to Israel became 100 percent free aid. In accordance with a 1973 law, the U.S. Government shall not give any foreign country military aid gratis, but this law was not applicable to Israel. It is precisely because of this support by the United States that Israel can maintain a military force which holds a predominant position locally and can persist in its aggressive and expansionist policy.

U.S. support for Israel is based on a special relationship between two allies. The United States places increasing emphasis on the importance of the special ally relationship between Israel and itself.

In the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union for hegemony over the Middle East, Israel is the most reliable ally of the United States. While the United States and the Soviet Union both avoid being directly involved in military conflicts, Israeli military strength can play the role which U.S. military strength cannot. The troops which the United States can use to deal with any Middle East emergency are far inferior to those of the Soviet Union and so Israeli military strength can play a supplementary role in regard to the United States, and, moreover, the United States can use Israeli military bases if necessary.

The strategic value and economic significance of Middle East petroleum resources are becoming more and more prominent. U.S. interest in petroleum in the Middle East constitutes one of the bases for the United States formulation of its Middle East policy. Proceeding from protecting its interest in petroleum, the United States attaches increasing importance to the role of Israel as an ally.

Apart from its foreign policy needs, there is still a domestic political reason for the United States to maintain a special relationship with Israel. There are 6 million Americans of Jewish extraction in the United States. The bourgeois among American Jews control 25 percent of the steel industry of the United States, 90 percent of its fur industry, 60 percent of its grain processing industry, and 40 percent of its movie industry, and have significant beachheads in the news media. They form the American Jewish group which is influential in gathering enormous votes and proceeds to influence the attitudes of the U.S. Government and of Congress. All U.S. governments, ranging from Truman to Reagan, have been affected by this political factor. Not long ago, with Israel refusing for a long time to withdraw its troops from Lebanon, the U.S. State Department proposed that aid to Israel be reduced and that economic pressure be put on Israel. Being awed by the opposition of the American Jewish group, Reagan rejected the State Department's proposal and still asked Congress to approve the aid to Israel totalling US\$2.5 billion as planned. However, instead of being content with this, the American Jewish group tried, through its endeavors outside the Senate, to urge the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee to further increase the aid to Israel to the tune of US\$3 billion. The bourgeoisie among American Jews and the Israeli ruling clique have myriad connections. They will in the future affect the U.S. position in the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Since the 1970's, the Arab states' power to maintain independence and keep the initiative in their own hands has been further expanding and the antiimperialist and antihegemonist struggles have entered a new stage of development. The United States has had to begin readjusting its Middle East policy. Some people in the U.S. Government long ago held that Israeli occupation of Arab land by the 1967 war made the Arabs hostile to the United States and caused them to appeal to the Soviet Union for aid, thus resulting in actually giving the Soviet Union an opportunity it can exploit to its advantage. That this does not conform to the strategic interests of the United States; that the United States needs to improve its relations with the Arabs and that for this reason it must work for peace between the Arab states and Israel: in other words, it must exert its influence on Israel so that it will abandon or partially abandon the forcibly occupied Arab lands to get peace and diplomatic recognition in return. The most representative figure who held this view was Rogers, secretary of state when Nixon assumed office. Because of this he held talks with the Soviet Union in 1969. On 9 December, the very same year, he disclosed the basic points of a plan in a speech and in June 1970, he formally advanced the so-called Rogers plan. But President Nixon and Kissinger did not sincerely support Rogers' propositions.

Prior to the 1973 Middle East war, Kissinger adhered to the traditional U.S. Middle East policy, that is, minimizing Soviet influence; weakening the position of radical Arabs; encouraging Arab moderates; and guaranteeing the

security of Israel. (Kissinger: "Years in the White House," Chinese translation, Sijie Zhishi [World Knowledge] Publishing House, 1980 Edition, Vol 2, p 170) Talking in extreme terms, some people said: Kissinger held that the United States could sleep soundly without worry so long as it had Israel--this ally--in the Middle East. (Sheehan, Edward R. F., The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger, New York, 1976, p 48) Under the guidance of this thinking, the United States did not seriously readjust its policy toward the Arab countries at that time. In terms of Americans, prior to November 1973, the United States had never had its Arab policy.

In October 1973, the war launched by Egypt and Syria against Israel, and the petroleum embargo imposed by Saudi Arabia on the United States, showed that the Middle East situation was not developing as predicted by Kissinger. In a situation in which Israel had refused for a long time to return the territories it had occupied, the Arab countries were indeed in an awkward predicament. However they heroically launched armed offensives against Israel rather than entreating the United States to help. During the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, U.S. leaders clearly realized that it was unwise to put the Arabs in a state of humiliation because of losing their territory for a long time because this would lead to a new war and to a more extensive and deepgoing anti-U.S. struggle and would endanger U.S. interests in the Middle East. In November 1973, the United States began to try to seek the recovery of some rights and land of the Arabs in exchange for Israeli security. In 1978 Egypt, Israel, and the United States concluded the Camp David agreements but the United States still supported Israel's stubborn stand, in, that is, refusing to restore the national rights of the Palestinian people and return the other Arab lands under its occupation. Consequently, since Camp David, U.S. policy in the Middle East has fallen into a morass. The smug calculations of the United States, in which on the one hand it supports the Israeli bellicose force which opposes the Arabs, and in which on the other hand, it tried to win the Arabs over by any means to be "strategically identical" with itself and to jointly oppose Soviet infiltration and expansion in the Middle East, are doomed to failure.

IV. The Present Situation

Since the evacuation of the PLO and the PLO troops from Beirut, the Palestinian problem has entered a new stage of development.

To solve the Palestinian problem, the Arab countries put forward, in September 1982, the Fex plan, which, unlike some previous Arab proposals calling for the destruction of Israel, unanimously demanded that Israel withdraw from the territories occupied since 1967; that a Palestinian state be established on the land returned by Israel; the PLO be recognised as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and that the UN Security Council guarantee peace in all Middle East countries. This was a solution which upheld principles on the one hand and embodied a realistic spirit on the other, and thus offered a good basis for a comprehensive and just settlement of the Palestinian problem. But, clinging to their aggressive stand, the United States and Israel did not agree to hold talks on the basis of the Fex plan.

However, as the common political program of the Arab side, the Fez plan will play an important role in the coming protracted struggle.

Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon with the connivance of the United States, the attitudes of the United States and Israel toward attacking the Palestinian and Syrian armed forces and driving them from Lebanon have been identical, and in particular, Israeli military actions have weakened Soviet influence and thus benefited the United States. Kissinger complacently wrote: "The Lebanon crisis has proved that Soviet strength and influence in the Arab-Israeli conflict are not worth mentioning." However, while having things as it wished, the United States was very worried about the reaction of the Arab states. Because of this, on 1 November, 1982, Reagan rushed to advance a new proposal before the convening of the Arab summit conference. The Reagan plan calls for electing an autonomous administration, connected to Jordan, for the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip and opposes Israeli annexation of or permanent control over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Meanwhile, Reagan opposes the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and refuses to recognize the PLO or to let the representatives of the PLO participate in talks in any form. In the Lebanon-Israeli talks, the Reagan administration maintains that all foreign troops should withdraw from Lebanon but refuses to bring pressure to bear on Israel, which delays its troop withdrawal from Lebanon. This performance of the United States is obviously self-contradictory. On the other hand, the United States wants to pacify the Arab countries and to win over some of them to form a "strategy identical" with its own so as to jointly resist the Soviet Union, and on the other hand, it does not change its policy of support for Israel, so as to avoid inviting more political problems at home. Formally, U.S. diplomatic maneuvers at present are concentrated on urging Israel to withdraw its troops and to freeze the establishment of Jewish residential areas in exchange for Jordan-Israel talks which would promote the "Middle East peace process." In his State of the Union Message, Reagan also stressed the continued implementation of the "Middle East peace process," but, in reality, instead of changing his Israeli policy and recognizing the representative nature of the PLO, he continued to be partial toward and to support Israel.

The Israeli attitude was extremely stubborn. It insisted on the establishment of Israeli military monitoring centers within the boundaries of Lebanon. Otherwise, it would not withdraw its troops. This led the Lebanon-U.S.-Israeli negotiations into an impasse. Israel threatened that troop withdrawal could not be solved within a short time. As for the Palestinian problem, Israel did not consider any solution at all and furthermore, it maintained that additional settlements would be set up on the West Bank of the Jordan River in disregard of differing U.S. views. Begin stressed that the West Bank is the birth place of the Jewish nation, a place which the ancient kings of Israel ruled, and that he could not prevent the Jews from moving on and settling there. With the stubborn attitude of Israel, if the United States does not alter its policy of connivance with Israel, it is impossible that Israel will abandon the Arab territories which it has occupied since 1967 through its war effort.

To sum up, in the present new phase of the struggle of the Arab peoples for the national rights of the Palestinian people, although two new proposals for a

solution to the Palestinian problem have been made, and a certain atmosphere for negotiations has prevailed, without the obstacles put up by the United States and Israel being removed, the Arab countries and Israel can hardly hold talks smoothly, still less conclude an agreement on the national rights of the Palestinian people. The Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem will continue to exist. The Arab-Israeli conflict is related to the tasks of the protracted antiimperialist, antihegemonist struggle of the Arab people. Only if the Palestinian and Arab peoples unite more closely, persist in the struggle and win over the sympathy and support of the peoples of the [words indistinct] States to alter its policy of support for Israeli bellicose force.

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WESTERN EUROPE

FRANCE, FRG CONCLUDE SUMMIT

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[Text] Paris, 17 May (XINHUA)--France and the Federal Republic of Germany ended their 41st semi-annual summit meeting today and leaders of the two countries indicated that they share similar views on European security and defense.

At a joint press conference after two days of discussions, French President Francois Mitterrand and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said they had also exchanged views on bilateral economic relations and the problem of reforming the world monetary system.

On European defence, Chancellor Kohl reaffirmed his position that West Germany will deploy Pershing II missiles by the end of this year if the U.S.-Soviet Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear weapons fails to produce a satisfactory agreement.

President Mitterrand also stressed the need of the missile deployment in the event of a breakdown of the Geneva negotiations. He said Europe must avoid a split with the U.S. which is hoped for by Moscow. A power balance is a most reliable guarantee for peace, he noted.

On military cooperation between the two countries, Kohl announced that big progress has been achieved by the defense and foreign ministers in their meetings concerning the development of new-type anti-tank helicopters.

On the forthcoming summit of the seven industrialized nations scheduled for later this month in Williamsburg, Virginia, of the U.S., President Mitterrand blamed the U.S. high interest rate for European economic difficulties. He said, "It is not normal that we should pay for the American budget deficit." He said the Williamsburg Summit should not confine itself to East-West trade but should be broadened to include relations among Western countries.

Kohl said, "I am not in the habit of criticizing the policy of a friendly country in its absence." "I hope that Williamsburg will be a message of optimism and hope," he noted.

On the French proposal for an international conference to study the prospect of a new monetary system, West German sources said Kohl refrained from expressing any support but only listened to the French view.

On bilateral relations, Kohl said his country regards the Franco-German friendship as a basic policy consideration. However, he rejected the accusation by French External Trade Minister Edith Cresson that West Germany's strict industrial standards have hampered French export, resulting in high French trade deficit with West Germany. Kohl said this problem could not be decided by the government alone and the West German businessmen also have a say.

Kohl also announced at the press conference that the European community summit originally scheduled for 6-7 June in Stuttgart would be postponed until after the British general election on 9 June. The European leaders will meet on 17-19 June instead, he said.

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WESTERN EUROPE

XINHUA VIEWS UK ECONOMY, COMING ELECTION

OW211631 Beijing XINHUA in English 1602 GMT 21 May 83

[Text] London, 30 May (XINHUA)--With Britain's general election two weeks away, the country's economy is becoming one of the issues most debated among political parties and widely discussed among voters as well.

Official statistics showed that the Conservative Party's economic policies have brought about achievements as well as problems. The bright side of the economic performance includes a sharp reduction of inflation from 10.3 percent when Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came into office in 1979 to four percent last month, a 15-year low in Britain.

Public spending and borrowing requirements have been brought under control while overseas debts were cut by about 50 percent to the lowest level since 1945 in the four years of Conservative Party's leadership. The balance of international payments has registered consecutive surplus for years. Business profit is increasing with products more competitive in the world market.

Meanwhile, a rising unemployment, the high cost of all these economic gains, is still worrying the British people. In 1979, there were 1.3 million jobless workers. But now the unemployment has climbed to 3.17 million, a record since the Second World War. Despite a decrease of strikes and stoppages, industrial relations remain tense.

There have been more signs of economic recovery this year such as increased industrial production, still lower inflation rate and interest rate, and stronger competitiveness of products due to the reduced production cost.

Weighing the above situation, the Conservative Party, after having released trial balloons for an early election for some time, announced the election on 9 June.

The press and economists here believe that the decision of the Conservative Government to bring forward the general election was mainly prompted by fears that the comparatively favorable economic situation may not last long. But, as the election result is to be determined by many factors, they say, it remains to be seen how much the Conservatives will gain from this decision. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese at 1459 GMT on 21 May carries this report, with the byline: "Roundup Report by XINHUA Reporter Wang Wenlian."]

CSO: 4000/140

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

SUPERPOWER RIVALRY IN CENTRAL AMERICA DENOUNCED

OW021148 Beijing XINHUA in English 1107 GMT 2 Jun 83

[Text] Cartagena, Colombia, 1 Jun (XINHUA)--Colombian President Belisario Betancourt today described intensified superpower rivalry in Central America as a major cause of the region's instability.

Addressing the 11th Inter-American Navy Conference here, Betancourt said that because of the specific conditions and strategic position of the countries in Central America and the Caribbean, the region "has become a focus of world attention and a new source of instability in the balance of military power of the great powers."

The Soviet Union is expanding its influence in the Western Hemisphere, and particularly in Central America and the Caribbean, the most fragile and instable region, and is noticeably augmenting the military strength of its satellites, he noted.

The current navy conference, beginning 30 May, is attended by naval officers of 17 Latin American countries and the United States. Topics at the closed-door session include the new Sea Law Treaty and issues concerning the observation of the treaty by Latin American countries, the role of American navies in marine development and the defense and control of the sea and seabed resources.

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE

XINHUA VIEWS ECONOMIC SITUATION IN LATIN AMERICA

OW231922 Beijing XINHUA in English 1834 GMT 23 May 83

["Round-up: Economic Plight in Latin America Analysed"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Bogota, 21 May (XINHUA correspondents Hu Jikang and Jin Shenjian)-- Political figures, economic experts and entrepreneurs from Latin American nations wound up a three-day meeting here today for a discussion of the profound impacts the economic crisis in the Western world has had on this continent and also ways to revitalize their economies.

In a document issued at the end of the meeting, sponsored by the Latin American Economic Commission and the Latin American Economic System (SELA), it is pointed out that "Latin America is faced with the worst economic crisis since the 1930's" which found expression in a declining gross national product (GNP), rising unemployment, runaway inflation and piled-up debts.

The document says that last year saw a drop of nearly one percent in the continent's overall GNP, with per capita output value falling from 1,009 U.S. dollars in 1980 to 967 U.S. dollars in 1982. The biggest drops in GNP were sustained by Chile and Uruguay, 14.1 percent and 10 percent respectively. Next came the war-wracked El Salvador and Nicaragua whose per capita output value sank to a level lower than 20 years ago. Only a small number of countries such as Brazil, Colombia and Ecuador registered a slight increase in GNP. Last year, the document says, the unemployment and semi-unemployment figure of the continent as a whole topped more than 26 million.

The document indicates that last year the inflation figure in Latin America also hit an all-time high, with prices soaring up by 84 percent. In this respect, Bolivia led all other nations by registering a 296.6 percent rise in consumer prices, a five-fold increase over the previous year. It was followed by Argentina, Mexico and Brazil, with the former sustaining a four-fold increase and the last two recording a three-fold increase.

Foreign debts incurred by Latin American nations last year, the document says, totalled 270.2 billion U.S. dollars, averaging 750 U.S. dollars per person. Topping the list were Mexico, Brazil and Argentina which had piled up debts of 200 billion U.S. dollars.

Experts at the meeting, exploring reasons for such a situation, attributed it to the economic recession in the Western world as the main external reason which, they said, had left a severe impact on the region's economies. In this respect, they cited protectionism, forced-down prices of raw materials and primary products and high interest rates.

As to the internal reasons, they pointed to the fact that many countries in the region had gone amiss with their economic policy which entailed a gross public spending. Long-drawn-out social turbulence was another reason they cited.

To chart a way out of the current crisis, the experts were unanimous in calling for a gradual reform of the present economic policy and the adoption of an austerity policy as well as concerted actions in dealing with the outside world.

As concrete ways toward this end, they cited the following: First, renegotiation of foreign debts for a 20-year moratorium and lowered interest rates; second, opening more markets to avoid overdependence on traditional European and North American markets and joint action in dealing with the protectionism; third, stepped-up cooperation among Latin American nations and a fuller scope given to the role of sub-regional economic integration organizations; fourth, expanded trade among Latin American nations and mutual exemption of tariffs.

Worldwide, experts at the meeting called for a restructuring of the present world economic order and ample consideration to be given to the needs and interests of developing countries.

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE

SELA CONDEMNS U.S. SANCTIONS AGAINST NICARAGUA

OW281257 Beijing XINHUA in English 1123 GMT 28 May 83

[Text] Caracas, 27 May (XINHUA)--The Latin American Economic System [SELA] today condemned the United States Government for imposing economic sanctions upon Nicaragua and demanded the lifting of the sanctions.

The denunciation and demand were contained in a resolution adopted at the third special meeting of the organization, which was held here at the request of Nicaragua.

The cut of sugar imports from Nicaragua by the U.S. Government as an economic sanction measure, the resolution said, has affected the right to self-determination and menaced the economic stability of this member state of the Latin American Economic System, thereby creating a serious case of economic emergency. Such measure, it said, has aggravated tension in the Central American region.

It stressed every country has the sovereign right to choose its own road in the economic, social and political fields and no nation should take coercive measures to menace its sovereignty and economic stability and encroach upon its rights to independent development.

The resolution appealed to the member states of the Latin American Economic System to purchase Nicaragua's sugar to resist the U.S. economic sanctions against the Latin American country.

The U.S. Government reportedly announced early this month a cut of sugar imports from Nicaragua from 58,800 tons to 6,000 tons annually.

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE

CENTRAL AMERICAN MINISTERS URGE END TO FOREIGN PRESENCE

OW011628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 1 Jun 83

[Text] Cartagena, Colombia, 32 May (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers of some Latin American countries told reporters here today that the elimination of foreign intervention constitutes the key to a solution to problems in Central America.

In his speech, Colombian Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda strongly condemned foreign intervention in Central America.

He said such intervention "contributes to chaos (in the region), inflames the atmosphere and increases the danger of internationalizing the conflict to some extent."

Lloreda said the second meeting of five Central American foreign ministers and four foreign ministers of the Contadora Group made significant progress.

"It is practical to exchange thoughts and views," he said. The foreign ministers of Honduras and Nicaragua had a cordial and direct dialogue in the presence of their Central American colleagues, he added.

Mexican Foreign Minister Bernardo Sepulveda said it is necessary for foreign advisors and military personnel to withdraw from Central America.

In order to attain peace in the region, Sepulveda said, it is a matter of primary importance to create an atmosphere of trust and coexistence in harmony among the Central American countries.

The meeting of five Central American foreign ministers was a demonstration of such trust, he said.

Sepulveda said Mexico supports the efforts of the Contadora Group to normalize the situation in Central America.

Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca said that as tension stemmed from the U.S. intervention, the United States should stop such intervention.

The foreign ministers came here to celebrate the 450th anniversary of the founding of the Cartagena City.

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE

UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION BACKS NICARAGUA

OW192004 Beijing XINHUA in English 1853 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] United Nations, 19 May (XINHUA)--The United Nations Security Council in a resolution today reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and of all other countries in the Central American area to live in peace and security and be free from outside interference.

The resolution was adopted unanimously this morning after the Council considered Nicaragua's complaint that it was being invaded by Somozist forces operating from Honduras and supported by the U.S. Government.

The resolution called on the member states of the Contadora Group--Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela--"to spare no effort to [word indistinct] solutions to the problem of the (Central American) region, and to keep the Security Council informed of the results of these efforts."

The document appeals urgently to the interested states "to co-operate fully with the Contadora Group through a frank and constructive dialogue, so as to resolve their differences."

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE

NICARAGUA'S D'ESCOTO VIEWS U.S. STAND AT UNSC

OW220906 Beijing XINHUA in English 0804 GMT 22 May 83

[Text] Managua, 21 May (XINHUA)--Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto yesterday said that the U.S. vote in favor of the resolution on a halt to interference in Central America at the UN Security Council [UNSC] does not mean any change in the U.S. policy.

He told reporters upon his return home from the United Nations that his country's diplomatic victory at the United Nations is of great importance. The resolution of the Security Council, he said, is a "measure which will possibly result in a defeat for the U.S. aggression against our country and our people."

He stressed that one has now to see how a superpower is going to stop carrying out its criminal policy of aggression. In view of the fact that the United States is the aggressor, he added, the resolution of the Security Council has become even more important.

By voting in favor of the resolution, the foreign minister said, the United States has taken into full account the political price it would have to pay if it acted otherwise, for it realized that the other member countries of the Security Council would vote for the resolution.

The Security Council adopted a resolution on 19 May after a debate on the Nicaragua issue, saying that the Central American countries have the right to live in peace without outside interference.

CSO: 4000/140

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

BRIEFS

SFRY OFFICIAL ENDS CUBAN VISIT--Havana, 4 Jun (XINHUA)--Mitja Ribicic, president of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, left here for home today after a five-day official and friendly visit to Cuba. During his stay here, Ribicic held talks and exchanged views with Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, on bilateral relations, the international political situation and the situation in Central America as well as the prospects of the non-aligned movement. Ribicic's visit is seen here as the most important one ever paid by a Yugoslav leader to Cuba since the late Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito attended the Sixth Non-Aligned Summit Conference here in 1979.

[Text] [OW051436 Beijing XINHUA in English 1422 GMT 5 Jun 83]

BRAZIL SEIZES U.S. VESSEL--Brasilia, 4 Jun (XINHUA)--The Brazilian Navy this week seized a U.S. fishing vessel poaching in Brazil's territorial waters off the Amapa State, the paper O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO reported today. The navy said that when the U.S. vessel was captured, a number of other foreign ships illegally fishing there had escaped. The navy has increased patrols in that area where poaching by foreign ships has been frequently reported. [Text]

[OW050809 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 5 Jun 83]

AMBASSADOR ARRIVES IN PANAMA--Panama City, 26 May (XINHUA)--Panama's Vice President Jorge Illueca received Chinese Ambassador to Venezuela Wei Yongqing at the Presidential Palace here this afternoon. They exchanged views on a broad range of international issues. Wei Yongqing also had separate meetings with Foreign Minister Juan Jose Amado and Deputy Chief of Staff of the National Guard Roberto Diaz. Wei Yongqing arrived here on 23 May to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the branch office of XINHUA News Agency in Panama. [Text] [OW270951 Beijing XINHUA in English 0759 GMT 27 May 83]

CSO: 4000/140

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERVIEW WITH CPPCC VICE CHAIRMAN HE CHANGGONG

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORETICAL STUDY] in Chinese No 3, 1 Mar 83 pp 25-27

[Article by staff reporters Wang Pengsheng [3769 7720 3932] and Pu Yi [2883 6654]: "Faith of an Old Communist Party Member--Interview With Comrade He Changgong, Vice Chairman of the CPPCC"]

[Text] Mention Comrade He Chenggong and everyone knows about him. He is a member of the Standing Committee of the Advisory Commission of the CPC Central Committee, a vice chairman of the CPPCC, and an old comrade who joined the party in 1922. We recently interviewed this veteran of the revolution, who is over 80 years old but still in good health.

"What do you want me to talk about?" Comrade He Changgong asked humorously in a thick Hunanese accent. He was simply dressed, had a broad smile on his face, was full of vim and vigor, and spoke frankly and quickly.

We talked about the preparatory activities to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Marx' death this year, and explained its meaning: "In order to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Marx' death, we thought we would first ask you to discuss it. How was it that you took part in the revolution under the guidance of Marxism? In the China of that time, why did you and many of your contemporary veteran revolutionaries put your faith in Marxism and not something else? Smiling, He Changgong said: "That is a long story, that happened over 60 years ago..."

Comrade He Changgong pondered a moment and then said: "The salvoes of the cruiser Aurora signalled the success of the great October Revolution and brought Marxism-Leninism to our China. At that time some advanced intellectuals were searching everywhere for ways of saving the country and the people. Fortunately, some figures in educational circles were just then proposing a work-study program and mobilizing youths to go to France to take part in such a program. This proposal exerted an influence on some youths. In particular, some advanced elements who had already been initially influenced by Marxism thought that by going to Europe they would get closer to Russia, which had already obtained victory in its revolution, and could more easily study Marxism and the experiences of Russia's revolution. Therefore, many youths in Hunan, Sichuan, Guangdong, and Beijing signed up to take part in this movement, and I was one of them. I was still a young student then, and my thinking was comparatively simple and naive. I thought of studying some techniques and skills in France, thereby helping to save the country by taking the path of industry."

After their sea voyage, he was somewhat excited when catching his first sight of France. He said: "We students who were to stay in France on a work-study program travelled for over a month from Shanghai to the port of Marseilles. Once we saw that the Chinese consul in Marseilles, who personally received the Chinese students, was actually a Frenchman, our hearts sank. This "Chinese consul" could not even speak a word of Chinese, so how could he handle affairs for us? Afterward we found out that this practice of appointing foreigners to act as Chinese consuls also existed in the consulates in America and England. This humiliation of the nation and forfeiture of its sovereignty, this loss of national dignity, were sufficient to show the corruption and incompetence of the Northern Warlords government at that time, and it aroused strong indignation among the students studying in France. Therefore, when we arrived in France we felt like strangers in a strange land and like orphans overseas with no one to turn to for support. We saw that industry in France was advanced, but that there was a wide gap between rich and poor in this country. Rich people lived a life of wanton extravagance while poor people lived in hunger and cold, which was not much different from the situation in China, and these things left a deep impression on our minds."

Comrade He Changgong went on to say: "With this kind of Northern Warlords' government and facing that kind of social reality in France, the plight of us poor students was extremely difficult, and we could not solve the problems of housing, food, work, and study. The illusion we had before leaving China, that it could be saved by technology and industry was completely destroyed, and we realized that the only way out for China was for us to unite and struggle. Under the leadership of Comrade Zhou Enlai, we carried on an unremitting struggle for the "right to eat, the right to work, and the right to study," not only opposing, together with the French workers and peasants, the capitalists and farm owners, but also organizing a struggle against the Chinese and French reactionary authorities. Through these struggles, a large group of advanced elements who possessed communist ideology emerged among the students in the work-study program, which was a necessary condition for preparing for the founding of a party organization. On 1 February 1922, Comrade Zhou Enlai went from Paris to Berlin, where among the students studying in Germany he founded a communist organization--the German branch of the CPC--after which he returned to Paris and, with Zhao Shiyan and other comrades, founded the European general branch of the CPC."

At this point Comrade He Changgong said with excitement: "After the founding of the European general branch of the CPC, our struggle entered a new stage. From this time on, everybody had a clear-cut goal and direction of struggle, and was determined to use Marxism-Leninism to save China and to fundamentally transform it through "communist revolution." But, being in a foreign country and distant land, where should they start the struggle? Everybody had a lively discussion on this point. Afterward, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: Our party organization is newly founded and the ideological level of its members is still low. Therefore, the current task should be to put stress on ideological building, both strengthening education in communist ideology and, as Lenin said, stressing the "study of communism," with particular stress being put on "propagating communism and recruiting comrades." Everybody agreed with Comrade Zhou Enlai's idea and formulated the party's current main task as: "promoting the students' study and propagation of Marxism." At the same time,

the general branch set up a "Marxist Study Society" and published a mimeographed publication entitled SHAONIAN [YOUTH], and extensively propagated Marxism-Leninism among the students and Chinese workers temporarily residing in Europe. News of the founding of the European general branch spread like a spring breeze to the students in the work-study program in various parts of France as well as in Germany and Belgium. Many progressive students wrote letters asking to join the organization.

The European general branch of the CPC was the earliest strong organization of our party to be set up abroad, and it played a major role in the history of our party's development. Comrade He Changgong said that there are not many members of the European general branch still living and in good health: some laid down their precious lives during the period of the democratic revolution; some always held important party and state posts, bent themselves to their tasks and exerted themselves to the utmost, and dedicated their lives to the party's cause; and still other comrades--few in number--are still charged with important tasks and working hard night and day for the cause of the party and people. This is the glory of the European general branch, and it is also the glory of the entire party and entire nation."

As the interview continued, Comrade He Changgong talked with more and more interest. When the topic of conversation turned to the revolutionary struggle after he returned to China, he said in a national manner: "From the beginning of 1923, in order to meet the coming great revolution in China, the CPC's European general branch, in a planned manner, sent us backbone party members who were staying in France on the work-study program back to China. At the end of 1923, in compliance with the organizational assignment, I returned to Shanghai from France, where I had been residing for a prolonged time while studying and working at the Belgian Labor University."

After Comrade He Changgong returned to China, the party assigned him to start work in his hometown of Huarong in Hunan, with his main task being to set up CPC and CYL organizations in western Hunan, to get a grip on education, and to get a grip on the peasant movement institute. Not long after the grand-scale Northern Expedition began, there was a constant upsurge in the Great Revolution, and the reactionary forces in Hunan became panic-stricken, and reactionary figures ran away in succession. At that time, Huarong Prefecture was a place where warlord rule was weak, so Comrade Mao Zedong decided to make Nanxian County and Huarong in western Hunan his key points for getting military equipment and launching armed struggle. In the autumn of 1926, Comrade He Changgong was appointed commander in chief of the Huarong Peasant Self-Defense Force. Comrade He Chonggong said humorously: "For a person like me who had always been a student engaged in education and who did not understand arms, it was not a case of being 'driven to join the Liangshan Mountain rebels' but rather a case of being driven to Lake Dongting, where I began a career in armed struggle."

"To renounce the pen for the sword, to change from grasping the barrel of a pen to grasping the barrel of a gun--this was not a small change! However, those who grasped the barrel of a gun at that time were not unanimous in their

understanding of the question of how and where to wage armed struggle." Comrade He Changgong said that the Paris Commune was set up in a city and that the October Revolution first started in the big city of Petersburg. Was the Chinese revolution to begin first in the cities by occupying the big cities? At that time the Marxists and the opportunists within the party were completely divided on this question and the struggle between them was very fierce. The left dogmatists, accepting uncritically Marxism's words and phrases on revolution, indiscriminately copied the experiences of foreign revolutions and went all out for the so-called 'theory of cities as centers,' which meant insurrections in cities and armed seizure of cities. After the failure of the Great Revolution, several leftist errors, all of this nature, were made in a row within the party, causing much suffering to our party and people, and the losses were quite big. In September 1927, Comrade Mao Zedong personally led the Autumn Harvest Uprising, leading us to switch our strategy from the cities to the rural areas and to begin the great advance toward Jinggangshan. From this time on, the focus of the Chinese revolution switched from the cities to the rural areas, taking the path of the armed independent regime of workers and peasants and of the rural areas surrounding the cities. This was an extraordinary turning point in the Chinese revolution. We should thank Comrade Mao Zedong, because only when he marched at the head of the whole party was this fundamental problem concerning victory of the Chinese revolution solved. This was a path that no predecessor had taken and that was not contained in any Marxist "book." This was a brand new chapter in developing Marxism-Leninism composed by Comrade Mao Zedong, who, proceeding from the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, applied the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism to the revolution."

Comrade He Changgong said: "In 1977, I returned to Jinggangshan, and all sorts of feelings welled up in my heart. I recall that when following Comrade Mao Zedong to establish the first rural revolutionary base--Jinggangshan--we of the Wuhan Guards Regiment set out from Wuhan with 3,000 men to march to Jinggangshan, and now there are less than 10 of them left. Those comrades heroically gave their lives for the party and the people. In Jinggangshan, each mountain and stream, each blade of grass and tree, is stained with the blood of revolutionary martyrs. We the living must not forget that our Red country was hard-won! Thinking of these things, we cannot let ourselves waver in the slightest toward the cause of the revolution and communism."

At this point, Comrade He Changgong's secretary told us that, in his 60-year revolutionary career, Comrade He Changgong had undergone several big tests but that his faith in the revolution had never wavered. He was born in 1900 in Huarong County, Hunan Province. In 1919, he went to France to study. That was at a time not long after the end of World War I, and the successive years of war had brought much pain and disaster to the French people. One prominent problem after the war was that there were less men and more women. Some women of rich French families pursued him, wanting him to stay in France and get married, but he refused all of them. On his way back to China from France, when he came to Southeast Asia some rich Overseas Chinese merchants offered him a high salary to become a teacher, but he did not respond. In 1930, after the Kuomintang reactionaries had taken Changsha, they killed over 40 members

of the He clan, including his wife, two children, and younger sisters, and put a big price on his head, but he was not intimidated by the White terror. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" struck him down. They locked him up in a "cowshed" and put him in a cadre school. His spirit and flesh suffered great humiliation. To this day his body bears the scars of beatings. But from first to last his revolutionary will never wavered.

Hearing the above-mentioned account, our feelings of admiration welled up. That 82-year-old He underwent all sorts of severe tests and never wavered in his faith in Marxism and in his staunch revolutionary will was truly extraordinary! Our words of praise had just been uttered when Comrade He Changgong laughed heartily and said: "This is nothing extraordinary. During arduous revolutionary struggle, any revolutionary will encounter this or that kind of test." If we want to commemorate Marx, we must more firmly establish our faith in Marxism and, without the slightest wavering, follow the path pointed out to us by Marxism.

This is the best commemoration of Marx. Without Marxism there would have been no victory of the Chinese revolution. Faith in something else will not work; only faith in Marxism will work. Soon afterward, he said solemnly: To commemorate Marx, we certainly must integrate Marxism with the reality of our construction of the four modernizations. We must pay attention to actual problems. There are many problems now facing our party and state, e.g., the problem of building spiritual civilization, the problems in economic construction, the problem of educating youth. You must publicize these problems. By combining Marxism with the reality of the Chinese revolution, a mighty force will be produced. It will not do to separate theory from reality. The several decades of our party's history illustrate this point.

Comrade He Changgong was very interesting, and our conversation had already lasted over 1 hour. Because he had to attend a meeting, his secretary urged him to get going and we had to take our leave.

Returning from the interview, it was a long time before we calmed down. The proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, after traveling a bumpy and rough road all their lives in the struggle for the cause of communism, and then, during their moment of joy at obtaining victory, suffered again the pain of adversity, but their loyalty to the party and their faith in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought remained firm and unshakable from beginning to end. This is precisely the point on which some of our party members and cadres, particularly some younger party members and cadres, are inferior. For this reason, we should not just pay tribute to this older generation of the revolution, but more importantly we should learn from their firm proletarian stand and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit to do even better in the construction of the four modernizations.

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CSO: 4005/696

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW CONSTITUTION DISCUSSED

Beijing XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 4, 5 Apr 83 pp 22-23

[Article by Chen Hefu [7115 5440 1133]: "Cursory Remarks on the Characteristics of the New Constitution"]

[Text] The new Constitution passed at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress is the best constitution adopted since the establishment of New China. Compared with the 1978 Constitution, the new Constitution contains much new substance and many new characteristics.

The 1978 Constitution was drawn up shortly after the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, and since the responsible persons in the CPC Central Committee continued to commit "Leftist" errors in a series of important issues, and since the entire party and all the people were not yet ideologically ready to liquidate the "Leftist" mistakes, the 1978 Constitution, as a consequence, could not avoid suffering the adverse effects of "Leftist" errors. However, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a series of immense changes have been wrought in our country's political, economic, cultural and education affairs and in other spheres of social life. This gradually revealed the incongruity of many parts of the 1978 Constitution with our country's realities and made revisions and adjustments urgently necessary. The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress therefore decided to accept the recommendation of the CPC to establish a Committee for the Revision of the Constitution.

After 2 years of great efforts and a vast amount of work, the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress adopted the new Constitution on 4 December 1982.

The new Constitution is a socialist legal code with distinctly Chinese characteristics. It is closely linked with the realities of our country, summarizes the positive and negative historical experiences made in the course of the development of our socialist undertakings and takes over and further develops the basic principles of the 1954 Constitution. Foreign constitutions and literature, as well as the valuable components of historical Chinese legal codes, were used as reference and to draw lessons from. Obviously, the formulation of the new Constitution realizes practical experiences and also signifies that our country's construction of its socialist legal system has already entered a new phase.

In what respects does the new Constitution show these new characteristics?

First, the new Constitution is consistent with our national conditions and in addition suits the needs of our socialist modernization drive. We want to go our own way and build a distinctly Chinese style socialism. Our pursuit of socialist modernization and construction starts out from the realities of our country and is carried out as an integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of our country. What are the national conditions of our country? Our fundamental condition is that after the 10 years of "internal turmoil," we are stepping up the socialist modernization drive, which means the construction not only of a high degree of material civilization but also of a high degree of spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core. We unite all patriotic forces and form the broadest united front to fight for the unification of our motherland, and this includes Taiwan. Taking this basic national condition as starting point and turning to our foreign policy: we insist on a foreign policy of independence and self-determination, which means on the one hand that we shall unswervingly open up our country and develop economic cooperation with foreign countries, but on the other hand resolutely guard out sovereignty and national dignity, and persist in our opposition against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and persist in safeguarding world peace. It means that we reject such erroneous statements in the 1978 Constitution as "the victorious conclusion of the first cultural revolution" and cast aside such erroneous theories as "persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." The new Constitution reiterates the four fundamental principles and affirms them in the form of a law of the highest level. All these fact reflect our national condition and the needs of the socialist modernization drive in the new historical period.

The character of our state is that of a socialist state that bases on a worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and has as its goal the realization of the basic tasks of a proletarian dictatorship. Since there exists within our people an extremely broad united patriotic front under the leadership of the CPC, and the broad masses of the people enjoy broad democratic rights and freedoms, the target of the dictatorship is merely an extremely small minority. The people's democratic dictatorship has been created by the CPC in the course of its guiding the people, as a form of proletarian dictatorship that suits our national conditions and our revolutionary tradition. We have adopted the institution of the people's congresses as the organizational form of our political power as fitting the nature of our political power. The institution of people's congresses has gradually evolved from the meetings of people's delegates, and is again a form that has been gradually perfected by our people in the practice of their protracted revolutionary struggle and construction. The new Constitution contains major reforms concerning the National People's Congress, local people's congresses and their permanent organizations. All these changes have been formulated according to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the establishment of the political power of the people and constitute a summing up of the experiences of over 30 years of establishing our political power; their starting point has been our national conditions and the needs of the socialist modernization

drive. These reforms truly confirm that "all power belongs to the people" and provide reliable and effective guarantee that the people have the right to "administer all affairs of state, all economic and cultural undertakings and all social affairs."

Our socialist economic system is also a Chinese-style system. The system of public ownership of the means of production is the foundation of our socialist economic system. However, within the overall national economy, whose dominant force is the economic system of public ownership by all the people, there still are in existence and development not only many different types of collective ownership systems of the working people, but also a small percentage of individual economic units of working people in town and countryside, which all supplement the public ownership system. "The state protects the lawful rights and interests of individual economic activities," but the state must of course "through its administrative control, guide, assist and supervise individual economic activities." If the Constitution allows different types of economic patterns to exist, with public ownership of the means of production constituting the foundation, and each type is fulfilling its proper functions in its particular sphere, these provisions of the Constitution have also been established on the basis of summing up the positive and negative experiences during the 30-odd years of our economic construction. Mindful of the historical lessons of the 10 years of turmoil, when there was no law to go by and even existing laws were disregarded, when one political movement followed the other without interruption and the economic construction suffered inopportune interferences and destruction, the new Constitution clearly stipulates that the future fundamental task of the state is to concentrate all energy on the socialist modernizations, in which economic construction is the key concern. The state's fundamental law in this way guarantees that the four modernizations will not suffer destructive interferences, and in this respect it gives expression to the desire of the people of the whole country.

China is a multinational state formed by the union of different nationalities. There are 55 national minorities throughout the country. In order to achieve true equality and prosperity for all nationalities, the new Constitution, on the one hand, stipulates with great clarity that narrow nationalism (mainly Han chauvinism) is being opposed. On the other hand, the new Constitution adds a number of new specific provisions, especially various additional provisions concerning regional national self-government, thereby providing an actual extension and further replenishment of the rights to self-government by self-governing organs in the autonomous national regions. This fully guarantees the lawful rights of the national minorities and is beneficial for the economic and cultural development of the national minority regions, as it also gives expression to the desire of all nationalities to enjoy common prosperity. It is a rare case among all the countries of the world that a large country with numerous minorities solves the minority problem by adopting a system of autonomous nationality regions; this is a completely Chinese system.

The provisions in the new Constitution regarding the basic rights and obligations of the citizens are also characteristically Chinese and reflect the special features of the time. In this question we are following four

principles: (1) We observe the Marxist principle that rights cannot be separated from duties. Those who enjoy rights must take on obligations. Our socialist state does not permit any person to only enjoy rights without fulfilling certain obligations. The new Constitution has one separate paragraph that specifically prescribes: "Any citizen may enjoy the rights stipulated in the Constitution and the law, and at the same time must fulfill the obligations stipulated in the Constitution and the law." (Article 33, paragraph 3) (2) Freedom and rights are not absolute and not without limitations. Individual freedom and rights can only be exercised as long as the freedom and rights of the state, the society and the broad masses are effectively safeguarded. When exercising his freedom or rights, the individual must therefore not injure the interests of the state, the society or the collective, nor the lawful freedoms or rights of other citizens. Some limitations of the freedoms and rights of the citizen are necessary precisely to fully safeguard the fundamental interests of the state, the collective and other individuals. (3) The fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizen are realistic and are guaranteed; they are furthermore being extended step by step. The new Constitution does not prescribe what momentarily cannot yet be done. If the provisions of the Constitution would be divorced from reality, the Constitution would be a hollow document. Our socialist state must beware of having a hollow document as its Constitution. For instance, on the freedom of movement, the 1954 Constitution had a provision and the 1975 Constitution too, but the new Constitution did not follow the 1954 Constitution and did not restore this type of freedom as a right, because in our country movement has to proceed under guidance and in a planned way. The movement of a citizen's domicile must only take place after a certain procedure of examination and approval has been complied with. Those citizen rights and freedoms that have already been stipulated in the new Constitution will be continuously expanded and enriched, depending on the future political and economic development of our country. (4) A citizen must exercise his freedoms and rights in line with the smooth progress of our undertakings in the socialist modernizations drive, and must not contravene this progress. The state guarantees its citizens the enjoyment of their lawful freedoms and rights, but definitely does not permit anyone to use these freedoms and rights for activities that subvert the social order, production order, work order or study order; they are even less permissible to be used to engage in counterrevolutionary activities against socialism.

Second, as the new Constitution takes the present realities into account, but also gives consideration to the prospects of future developments, it is a model of integrating in a realistic and programmatic nature. The new Constitution is a summing up and affirmation of our country's historical experiences and of the prevailing realities. It acknowledges the huge changes that have taken place in our country and the various successes achieved by all the various nationalities of our country, and affirms them in legal form. It is therefore a legal document of a realistic character. At the same time it also sets forth the prospects of our country's future developments, the fundamental tasks of our country and its struggle objectives; sections of its provisions are therefore undeniably of a programmatic character.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

AUTHOR OF WHO REPORT ON URBANIZATION, MIGRATION INTERVIEWED

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 May 83 p 15

[Article by correspondent Goran Leijonhufvud in Beijing: "Swedish Researcher on Mass Migration in China: Expect No Miracles"]

[Text] Hundreds of thousands of Chinese people will move from the country to the cities during the next decades. It will be the greatest migration in the history of the world. The Swedish researcher Lennart Levi has reported on the consequences of this mass migration. The report is ordered by the World Health Organization (WHO).

Levi has studied the effects of China's rapid social changes on the mental health of families and children.

This past week he has taken part in a conference here about psychosocial aspects of primary care.

This is Levi's second visit to China. He is professor of psychosocial environmental medicine at the Caroline Institute.

Leading psychologists, psychiatrists, and child specialists from all of China took part in the Shanghai conference.

When Levi for DAGENS NYHETER summarizes five weeks in China, he several times returns to the following starting point:

It is fantastic that the Chinese have managed a population growth of 460 million in 33 years, that schools and medical care function, that there are no child prostitutes or sick children in China as in other poor countries, and so on.

"We must not expect miracles from them," says Levi.

Few Divorces

He says, for example, that it is a common problem in underdeveloped countries to kill little girls--as the Chinese press has started reporting. It is

easier to understand that a farmer in China kills his newborn daughter than that we in Sweden use the TV as an electronic babysitter, he says.

He points out that divorces in China are only one-half of 1 percent.

"There is a certain security for the children, and the parents keep on being parents."

Having said all this, he turns to "the dangers of tomorrow's problems."

The population is 1 billion and will increase with 200 million until the year 2000, in spite of a strong population control. But the risk is great that there will be [an increase of] 300 million, that is as if all the people in the Soviet Union or in the United States were put on top--in less than two decades.

A subsequent problem is that many cannot find jobs in the country. But they are needed by the light industry in the cities. Thus we can expect that hundreds of millions of people will move to the cities--the largest urbanization in the history of the world, says Levi.

Prevents Growth

China is today hardly urbanized. Eighty percent live in the country. Not many underdeveloped countries are like that.

"But the Chinese have realized that too rapid a growth is not good. They are energetically preventing this from happening. According to the calculations of the United Nations, Shanghai will have a population of 23 million in the year 2000 and Peiping will have one of 18 million. The Chinese want to prevent this."

"They want to invest in small and midsize cities."

It may be difficult to provide work. It already is today, says Levi.

The foundation of this society is the unity of the family and the extended family of three generations. A rapid migration to the cities, the extended families may break up.

The Chinese are today very interested in "psychosocial environmental medicine." They look upon it as a puzzle piece that until now has been missing in the planning. It is important to prevent the problems.

What can Sweden learn from China?

"The Chinese have a goal that is outside the private person, 'to build the country.'"

"They have also understood better than we have that people need to be needed," says Levi, and gives an example from nursing homes and day care centers, where all who are able do the necessary practical tasks.

But it is absolutely impossible to import the system directly to Sweden.

"There is not enough freedom for us. But for the Chinese, there is not too much control compared to the initial position and the current situation," says Lennart Levi.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEED FOR ENERGY LEGISLATION IN CHINA SEEN AS URGENT

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 3, 15 Mar 83 pp 14-16

[Article by Mu Zhonghu]5459 6988 3840]: "Preliminary Probe Into Our Country's Energy Legislation"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, following the gradual perfecting of socialist democracy and the legal system, there has been great progress in our country's economic legislation work. In the past several years, our country has newly promulgated 250 economic laws and regulations, five-sixths of which are new laws, decrees, and administrative laws and regulations.

Energy laws and regulations are an important part of the economic laws. At present, because the scale of energy production is unable to suit the development of the national economy and there is still a serious waste of energy, there has been a considerable intensification of the contradiction in the supply and demand of energy, which has become an important factor restricting our country's economic development. Focusing on the energy question, the central authorities have formulated a policy that lays equal stress on exploitation and saving, that in the near future gives priority to saving energy, and that begins a structural reform and technological transformation of the national economy centered on saving energy. In order to insure the thorough implementation of the specific and general policies on energy and to promote the development of energy construction in our country, the improvement and strengthening of energy management, and the perfecting and strengthening of work on the legal system for energy, brook no delay.

Do Good Work in Perfecting and Revising Special Regulations on Energy

Our country's energy legislation is now in the stage of formulating special regulations. Since the founding of the state, especially over the last several years, the State Council and its relevant ministries and commissions, and local people's governments, proceeding from protection of energy resources, promotion of the development of the energy industry, and conserving energy, have formulated and promulgated some regulations and decrees on energy management. This plays a positive, effective role in protecting energy resources, accelerating energy exploitation, rationally and frugally using energy, and improving energy management.

In energy, there are fairly many links and administrative levels--from exploitation, transformation, transportation, to utilization--and if energy is to be managed well, a definite number of relevant special regulations is required. At present, our special regulations are of few types and they are incomplete. Some regulations and provisions have not yet met the requirement of being documents within the scope of law, are unable to be accepted by society, and require revision and legislation. We should continue to do good work in revising and perfecting special regulations on energy, and give a bigger and more numerous role to these special regulations in our energy work.

Get a Tight Grip on Formulating Our Country's Basic Law on Energy--the Energy Law

Our country has made noticeable progress over the past several years in energy legislation work. Through the formation of special regulations on energy, we have already obtained some experiences in legislative practice. However, generally speaking, the work of studying and formulating energy laws and regulations is just starting and unfolding. Currently, it is particularly necessary to bring together some personnel engaged in work on energy, economics, and law to draft an energy law of a common form in order to meet urgent needs. First, time is pressing. Second, for convenience in embodying the important points of the specific and general policies on energy currently in effect in our country, with regard to actual problems of energy management faced by all departments of the national economy throughout the country, provisions must be made and legislation effected so as to readjust the relations in the energy domain between all departments of the national economy and all areas in the country. Third, the energy law should be rough and not detailed, should be in principle and not specific. The special regulations can be used to supplement and perfect the basic law,

For the form of our country's energy law, the relevant experiences abroad can be used for reference, but its content certainly must suit China's specific national condition. An energy law with our country's distinguishing features must both reflect the characteristics of our country's planned economy and be combined with our country's practice in constructing a legal system for energy, handling well the relationship between the energy law and the special regulations in the connotative aspect. Ours is a big country abounding in natural resources, and its population is large. Departments stand like trees in a forest, and economic units are spread all over. The economic development between areas, between departments, and between enterprises is very unbalanced. Between the various areas and departments, the gaps in the production and management levels are very big, and it is impossible to bring them into line within a short period of time. Our country's energy law must take into account the existence of this objective reality, and the fact that at present the energy of the country cannot be handled in a unified fashion should be included in the energy law. For example, in energy consumption standards, there is a big gap between Shanghai and areas where there is a fairly good industrial base on the one hand and other areas on the other hand. If we were to stipulate in the energy law one unified standard for the whole country, this would not be feasible and it would also dampen the enthusiasm of the producers. By solving this problem through special regulations for departments

or areas, it will be possible to get quite a lot of results. Of course, this does not mean that the energy law cannot contain some provisions of a principled nature, e.g., in order to lower energy consumption, transforming equipment within a specified time, accepting supervision within a specified time, accepting supervision in energy consumption, etc, which will gradually reduce energy consumption.

The Key Point in Energy Legislation Is Laws and Regulations for Saving Energy

Energy legislation involves energy policies, energy economics, energy plans, and energy management and technology, and it has many parts. Based on our country's energy situation and the characteristics of its consumption of energy, we should first of all perfect energy laws and regulations, making laws and regulations for saving energy the key point of our legislation.

Since the oil crisis of 1973, the world's supply of energy has been tight. A fairly rational utilization of the limited amount of conventional energy and the reduction of petroleum consumption has become the most pressing problem for all countries. Based on their own reality, many countries have begun to formulate laws and regulations for saving energy. In 1979, Japan promulgated "Law on Rationalization of Energy Use" (viz, energy-saving law), strengthened the management of energy, and took appropriate measures to insure the rational use of energy. Romania issued the "Decree on Correct Management and Reduction in Consumption of Electrical Energy, Thermal Energy, and Natural Gas" and "Decree on Rational Consumption of Fuels and Economic Management of Vehicles." In December 1979, the Soviet State Planning Commission promulgated the "Basic Regulations for Consumption of Fuels, Thermal Energy, and Electrical Energy in Planning the National Economy." As early as 1974, South Korea had put its "Heat Management Law" into effect. In 1978, the United States promulgated the "Energy Law" (the major part of which was energy conservation). The promulgation and implementation of these laws played a big role in the launching of energy conservation work, the reduction of petroleum consumption, and the alleviation of the crisis in these countries. In 1979, Japan saved 14 million more tons of standard coal than it did in 1978, and in the period 1979-1980 effected a planned saving of 27 million kiloliters of petroleum.

Our country has a great potential for saving energy. At present, its total energy effective utilization rate is less than 30 percent, and those of the industrially developed countries are as high as 40 to 50 percent. The total energy consumption per 10,000 yuan in output value and per unit product is far higher than the advanced level abroad. In the process of exploiting, transforming, and transporting energy, there is a great deal of waste. The state stipulates that the recovery rate for raw coal be 75 percent, but some mines only reach 50 percent, or even lower. In addition to natural wastage while energy is being transported, people cause a great deal of loss. As for waste in using energy caused by running drips and leaks, incomplete sets of equipment, and "using a big horse to pull a small cart," these things still exist to a serious extent in enterprises of all sizes. The development of the national economy requires a corresponding speed in growth of energy. However, although our country is rich in conventional energy, because the scale on which the energy industry is being build is small, in the short term there will

not be a fairly large growth in energy output. The economy will develop, and develop fairly fast after the Seventh 5-Year Plan begins, so from where will the energy come? The way out is to save energy. Management requires energy; equipment and industrial technology require energy. Our energy legislation work should closely center on saving energy, beginning the work of saving energy, improving energy management, and formulating and promulgating a series of laws and regulations on saving energy, so that the specific and general policies, means and measures, are made into laws and the legal system is used to promote the saving of energy.

Following the perfecting and strengthening of the construction of our country's legal system on energy, the energy laws and regulations certainly will enable our country's energy undertaking to flourish and develop, and will make a positive contribution to the construction of the four modernizations!

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEED FOR RENEWAL OF LEGAL SYSTEM, ATTITUDES PROPOUNDED

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 2, 15 Feb 83
pp 2-3, 5

[Text] In an interview with the correspondents of this periodical, Comrade Chen Pixian [7115 0012 7359], Secretary in the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, pointed out: "From now on we are carrying out rule by law, and the old stuff of the past must be thoroughly gotten rid of;" "the new ways are: we must study the law, understand the law, obey the law, carry out the law and conduct all affairs according to law." The question that Comrade Chen Pixian raises here is the question of actually making reform in the spheres of democracy and the legal system our future guiding ideology.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has already completed the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos in the field of our guiding philosophy. The party has won great victories in the actual work on all fronts and realized a great transformation of historical significance. We have to affirm this fact absolutely. However, what about the guiding philosophy in our professional life on the various fronts? Has every department earnestly and systematically summed up its own historical experiences and drawn a clear line of distinction against the guiding ideology, rules and regulations in the business of the department before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, or before the "Cultural Revolution," and determined which ideas were correct, which were wrong and which, under the changed situation of today, have become obsolete and inapplicable? Are there not still some comrades who keep all the old stuff in their own departments intact, like an unopened parcel, continuing the old traditions of before the Third Plenary Session or before the "Cultural Revolution"? This is something worthwhile pondering. If Comrade Chen Pixian points out that the old stuff must be completely gotten rid of, to be replaced by new things, it is a demand to study assiduously and with utmost energy all the new things in the sphere of democracy and the legal system, create new experiences and break down old and obsolete conventions. This was also expressed by Comrade Hu Yaobang when he spoke of getting rid of the old conventions, old formulas and the old style of work, which are all obstacles on our way of progress. Everybody must study assiduously the new situation, solve new problems, sum up new experiences and establish a new way. Reform means destroying the old and establishing the new. This is obviously a question of highest importance and urgency.

There was absolutely no democracy and legal system to speak of in old China. Many people know that. It is precisely because old China lacked a tradition of democracy and legal system that one difficulty after the other is now unavoidably being encountered as the people build up their own state and establish socialist democracy and a legal system. The patriarchal system and instances of one man laying down the law are still common occurrences, and there is just no place in the minds of certain people for such things as democracy and the legal system. Laws not being complied with, and not being strictly carried out, are not isolated cases. If we talk of the old stuff, this indeed is the old stuff that we want to get rid of completely. Especially now that new party statutes and a new Constitution have been adopted, can we still tolerate such conditions to continue? No, we certainly will not allow them to continue.

If we want to get rid of the old stuff, we must create new things. Comrade Chen Pixian pointed out: "The new things are: studying the law, understanding the law, obeying the law, carrying out the law and conducting all affairs according to law." That truly constitutes the key to the question. Engels expressed it well when he said: "Any political party or class that has seized political power in a revolution, will, by its very nature, demand that the new legal and institutional base created by the revolution gain absolute recognition and furthermore be revered as something sacred." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 36, p 238) Now we have already a new Constitution and a series of important laws. What we have to do first of all is to have the Constitution and the laws "gain absolute recognition and be revered as something sacred." This means, we must study the law, understand the law, observe the law and carry out the law.

After the Constitution was promulgated and came into force, the masses studied the Constitution with great enthusiasm. We may well say that this must be noted with embarrassment by those cadres who treated the Constitution with indifference and failed to study it, and it should be brought to the urgent attention of certain comrades. Some comrades believe that no mistakes are possible if matters are handled in full reliance on party spirit, however, if one is ignorant of the Constitution and the laws, what guarantee is there that no mistakes will be made and that matters will be truly handled in party spirit? The new party statutes stipulate: "All activities of the party must be within the limits of the Constitution and the laws." If affairs are handled in a way that deviates from the Constitution and the law, no matter what the motives were, it would be a manifestation of a lack of party spirit or would show impure party spirit. Confucius said: "To be fond of benevolence, but not of learning leads to stupidity...to be fond of steadfastness, but not of learning leads to foolhardiness." This means that even if you go in for benevolence and display great steadfastness, as long as you will not also make an effort to study and learn, you will only be a simpleton or a foolhardy person. These phrases have a deep meaning. Today, if a comrade is strong in party consciousness and shows abundant revolutionary spirit, but on the other hand makes no effort to study the Constitution and the law, what will the result be? There were comrades in the past who were great at single-handedly laying down the law for all others, who were of a patriarchal bent and acted the proverbial monk in the pum, meaning "I know no law, I hold nothing sacred." Did these comrades not also call themselves strong in party consciousness and possessed of abundant

revolutionary spirit? To decide whether we must exert ourselves in studying the Constitution and the law, we merely have to look back at the lessons of history; there, we will see some warning examples.

Only hard study of the Constitution and the law can bring an understanding of the Constitution and the law; that is really evident without further explanation. By mentioning "understanding," we mean understanding the spirit and essence as well as the specific text, neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. Some comrades make the mistake of being satisfied with the perfunctory and superficial; they have only a rough general idea of an objective thing, but say they understand it. The result is usually that they merely make fools of themselves. Law is an extremely serious matter, and on matters of law one must under no circumstances be perfunctory and superficial. By mentioning "all affairs are to be conducted according to law," we mean that all transactions must not violate any specific text of a certain article, or several articles, of a certain law. If one is unfamiliar with the specific texts, how would one know what is to be affirmed, what is permissible, and what is forbidden and not to be done? To have a good knowledge of the various legal texts is the duty of all workers in the judiciary. To demand equal expert knowledge of the legal texts from cadres and citizens on other fronts is of course unrealistic, but it is necessary for them to know the basic laws of the country and the laws relevant to their vocations. Comrade Chen Pixian said: "The economic departments must know how to use the law and must employ legal advisors. This will not only prevent or reduce arguments in foreign economic relations, but will enable strict legal protection of our country's economic interests in our foreign economic relations." In fact, if the economic departments will proceed in this manner, is there any reason why other departments should not also do the same?

As regards all departments, the purpose of studying the law and understanding the law is to observe the law and have all one's words and deeds stay within the limits permitted by law. Lenin once said: "If we refuse to point the way by means of laws, we would be traitors to socialism." ("Works of Lenin" Vol 29, p 180) We should deeply reflect on the fact that Lenin raised the need to keep activities within the limits of the law to such a high level. Our prosecutions of criminal acts in the economic field have shown that some cadres not only do not set examples in observing the law, but commit violations in spite of knowing the law, or violate the law in the execution of laws, and even sink so low as to commit economic crimes. For instance, most recently, Wang Zhong [3769 0112], who was executed and who had been a former deputy chairman of the political and legal commission of the Shantou prefectural party committee and secretary of the Haifeng county party committee, had embezzled large quantities of confiscated contraband, accepted and demanded bribes to the amount of over 69,000 yuan; don't we have here one who turned into a big criminal against our socialist undertakings? In the past some comrades jokingly asked: "What is bigger, the "xianfa" [Constitution] or the "xianwei" [county party committee]"? At present, with our new Constitution in force, we can answer unequivocally: The Constitution is not only bigger than the county party committee, but bigger even than all political parties, including the CPC. The Constitution clearly stipulates: "All government organs and armed forces, all political parties and social organizations, all enterprises, industrial units and organizations must abide by the Constitution and the law." This important norm must

be brought to the serious attention of those comrades who have fallen under the pernicious influence of the "I know no law, I hold nothing sacred" mentality.

In the socialist society, class struggle will still continue for a long time within certain limits. Although most people will study the law and understand the law, and will also be able to consciously observe the law, there will always be the extremely small minority of bad elements, hostile to the socialist system and out to sabotage it, and also other criminal elements, and these will be a problem for the enforcement of the law.

Only by firmly persisting in strict enforcement of the law and in unfailing prosecution of any law violation, can the Constitution and the law truly be shown to be "sacred objects," and not merely scraps of paper. The key to proper enforcement of the law is to truly observe complete equality of all citizens before the law. This is a matter of great concern among the masses. The pernicious influence of the idea that "human relations are stronger than the law of the land," advocated by Lin Biao, must be definitely and thoroughly eradicated. The death sentence for Wang Zhong, that big criminal, guilty of corruption and taking bribes, was to the immense satisfaction of the people, because this judgement clearly demonstrated to the masses the authoritative power of the Constitution and the law; they saw the impartial and incorruptible way of the party and the government and the resolution to enforce the law strictly. The Constitution and the law will definitely not be mere scraps of paper, but will be powerful weapons to safeguard the interests of the broad masses and make all criminal elements tremble with fear. The cadres engaged in political and legal work must master the use of this weapon, and so must the broad masses of the people. Precisely as Comrade Peng Zhen [1756 4176] said: "Having 1 billion people acquire the proper concept and the custom of observing the Constitution and defending the Constitution, and to fight all violations and disruptions of the Constitution, this constitutes a great force indeed."

In the course of building our socialist democracy and legal system, we can initiate a new overall situation only by discarding the old stuff and creating a new order of things. Only by making reform the guiding ideology in our construction of democracy and the legal system, by unceasingly and assiduously studying the new situation, solving new problems, preserving the correct and rectifying the erroneous, can the objective of a comprehensive initiation of a new overall situation be achieved with steady steps. Initiating comprehensively a new overall situation in the constitution of our democracy and legal system also requires a full measure of courage to dare to fight resolutely and unrelentingly against all ideologies and actions opposed to the Constitution. It is the desire of this periodical to exert all efforts to that effect together with those in all other circles of our society!

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RESEARCH ON FUNDAMENTAL THEORIES OF JURISPRUDENCE ADVOCATED

Shanghai FAXUE [JURISPRUDENCE] in Chinese No 12, 10 Dec 82 verso of front cover

[A letter by Tao Xijin [7118 1585 2516] dated Beijing 20 October 1982, reprinted under the heading "A Letter from Comrade Tao Xijin on the 'Proposal for the Strengthening of Research on Fundamental Theories of Jurisprudence'"]

[Text] To the Editorial Office of FAXUE:

I was very pleased to read your letter and the "Proposal for the Strengthening of Research on Fundamental Theories of Jurisprudence."

Since its republication, FAXUE has published quite a number of issues, which had a considerable impact and conspicuous success in the propagation of the legal system as well as in exploring the theories of jurisprudence.

When I met comrades from Shanghai's jurisprudential circles in the winter of last year, I remember that we came to discuss research in legal theory. At that time resumption of the publication of FAXUE was still in the planning stage. We talked of the problem of policies for law publications, and our unanimous opinion was that such publications should of course propagate the current laws in a popular way, but must on the other hand also allot even more space to probing and researching of the theory of law. Although certain progress has been achieved since the establishment of our government 33 years ago in building up our legal system, it cannot by far be called perfect. It is in urgent need of further vigorous action and an acceleration of legislation. Our research concerning the theory of law is, as you truly said, lagging far behind the practice of establishing our legal system. Quite some amount of confused ideology in our jurisprudence has indeed influenced our legislation, and some of it has directly influenced our judicial practice. Jurisprudence is a branch of the sciences. Unfortunately, we cannot yet say that everybody understands it that way! Needless to say, there are even fewer people who do penetrating research on certain theoretical questions of jurisprudence.

When I saw your proposal, I was just exchanging views with a few comrades on the subject of research in the theories of civil law. We were not concerned with the study of drawing up or revising civil laws or other civil regulations, but with the study and exploration of certain theoretical questions regarding civil law. As a start, we listed ten or more questions, for instance, the

question of the target of our civil law, the special characteristics necessary in socialist civil law, the role of civil law in the process of constructing our socialist spiritual civilization, the contract system in socialism, the ownership system, the inheritance system, etc. All these topics have at one time already been the subject of controversy. We intend to engage in a collective discussion, separately pen our ideas and then apply a method of collective research and repeated research, so as to arrive at a unified understanding and at a clarification of confused concepts, and to try to elaborate a system of a civil law theory that has distinctly Chinese characteristics. If we proceed in this way and achieve a certain measure of success, it will provide a foundation for the time when we will go further into other important research topics in jurisprudence. Because we have these tentative plans, we felt, on receipt of your letter and the "Proposal," that we have common aspirations, and we do hope that we can work together with you in future and take our own road in our jurisprudential research.

As to your introductory remarks to your "Proposal," everyone agrees, as they conform with the spirit expressed by Comrades Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] and Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028] following the 12th CPC Congress, namely that the task of the social sciences is "to study and solve important problems of theory and of practice and to exert great efforts to initiate a new phase in social science research." Regarding the subdivision of the science of jurisprudence, a question that you raise, we are also getting ready to do research in this direction. However, our focus of attention is more on the need to solve practical problems. Our overall view is that present research on the theory of jurisprudence, is best directed toward actual questions that exist in the field of jurisprudence, or to sum up past experiences in legal work, and to probe into these problems from the theoretical side. Please weigh the above ideas and see whether they are appropriate. Tao Xijin, Beijing, 20 October 1982.

9808

CSO: 4005/694

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HISTORY, CURRENT STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN WORLD EXAMINED

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORETICAL STUDY] in Chinese No 3, 1 Mar 83 pp 34-35

[Article by Li Fang [2621 2455]: "Political Parties and the Political Party System"]

[Text] The political activities of humankind are always activities in which a certain class or social stratum unites to wage struggle. In ancient and modern times, in China and abroad, all political activists have had to conform to the trend of a certain time before they could obtain success. This is what is meant by the saying "the times produce their heroes."

In the many political activities of history, people of common inclination have often formed political groups. In size, some of these political groups were big and some small; in cohesion some were tight and some loose. Some were almost as big as political parties, and some were even given the additional title of political party. For example, in our country's history there were the "Partisans" of the Eastern Han, the Niu Li Dang of the Tang Dynasty, The Xin Jiu Dang of the Song Dynasty, the Dong Lin Dang of the Ming Dynasty, and the Wu Dou Mi Jiao of the Minjian period. In foreign countries, especially Europe, certain religious reform sects were drawn into political struggle. Precisely because of this, some people think that the history of political parties and the history of states and governments are equally longstanding.

However, before the 19th century, there had never appeared on the political stage a political party that played an important role in the modern sense.

Modern political parties matured through different channels in many industrially developed countries in Europe and America. This first of all was when the old-line capitalist countries of England, America, and France set up the representative system and the electoral system after their revolutions. In order to get votes and build up their power in legislative assemblies, people developed the political groups into public, permanent political organizations--political parties. This evolutionary process was sometimes fast, sometimes slow. In England, two parties--Whigs (liberal) and Tory (conservative)--began to appear at the end of the 17th century, and by 1830 a system whereby they took turns in being the party in power was formally formed. But in Germany and France, the political parties had a certain tinge of impermanence, like political groups. The common features of the political parties in the old-line capitalist countries are: they represent the interests of the bourgeois and other exploiting classes, and were founded and developed in order to contend for state power.

The oppressed not only learned from their oppressors how to seize and use military weapons, but also learned from them how to use organized political parties as a weapon of political struggle. Consulting the experiences in struggle of the political parties in various countries at that time, in 1846 Marx and Engels founded the "Communist News Committee" and fostered the secret organization of international workers called the "League of the Just," which became the First International; on this basis, in the 1870's and 1880's, political parties of the worker class were founded in many countries in Europe and America, causing a fundamental change in the situation of revolutionary struggle in these countries.

At the same time, revolutionaries of many oppressed nations, one after another, founded national democratic revolutionary parties, e.g., the Young Italy Party, the Polish Red and White Party, and the Young Turkey Party. These political parties played a big role in the struggle to win national independence. The common feature of revolutionary parties is generally that after such a party is founded, through it the old system is toppled and a new regime set up.

Although it is common knowledge that a political party is a political organization, it is very difficult to get a unanimous idea of how one should understand what a political party means, and thus opinions differ on the definition of a political party, but there is a common tendency among bourgeois scholars to avoid mentioning the class nature of a political party. Marxists were the first to publicly point out that the class features and nature of political parties. Marx publicly called on the "proletariat to organize as a class and thereby organize as a political party." Lenin maintained that "the most disciplined, the most complete and clear manifestation of the struggle between the classes is the struggle between the political parties." In this spirit we can say that a political party is a political organization of a class nature formed on the basis of common class interests that takes common action to obtain and maintain state power or to influence governmental policies.

From this it can be seen that a political party normally possesses the following characteristics: First, it has a class nature and a political program. Some parties openly acknowledge their class nature while others try to conceal theirs, but in the end the class nature will unavoidably be manifested in the party's program. Second, it must have a specific organizational structure and maintain the discipline required by this organization. The degree of tension or relaxation of party discipline differs widely in various parties. Members of the two parties in the United States can freely join or leave a party and can freely act in politics; party discipline in the Conservative Party in Britain is fairly strict, and members of parliament who do not abide by party discipline must resign and run for election again. One source of strength of a proletarian party is its conscious, iron discipline. Third, it must have members and the support of the masses. Generally speaking, the more party members there are and the more the party has the support of the masses, the greater the power of the party. But one should not be confused on this point by superficial phenomena. When Franco ruled Spain, it seemed as if members of his reactionary party were spread all over the country, but after his death his party immediately disintegrated and there appeared nearly 200 parties.

Besides the above basic characteristics, if a party wants to carry on its activities publicly and effectively, it must obtain legal standing. Political parties appeared after the capitalist revolution, so the constitutions of many countries do not contain provisions relating to the question of political parties, but give them de facto recognition on the legal basis of "freedom of association."

When carrying out their activities, parties usually develop relations with other mass organization. Human mass organizations are varied. They can roughly be divided into two big categories: those of a political nature (e.g., political parties) and those of a nonpolitical nature. The latter are subdivided into so-called interest groups (e.g., trade unions and associations of heads of enterprises) and other mass organizations (e.g., welfare, charitable, and tourist organizations). Various kinds of social organizations do not possess the qualifications of political parties, but are organizations that have a major influence politically or are able to exert pressure on governments. In capitalist countries, they are called "pressure groups." The political parties are always thinking of ways to influence the social organizations to the maximum extent so as to attain their own political goals.

Political parties per se are domestic political organizations, but certain political parties under special conditions have founded international organizations, e.g., the workers party's First, Second, and Third Internationals, the socialist party's International, as well as Trotskyism's Fourth International. The Cominform, composed of communist and worker parties of nine countries after World War II, and the transnational party Organization of Unity in certain parts of Africa, can be reckoned to be "quasi-international organizations."

What is most noticeable in the question of political parties is the so-called political party system, which means the specific forms by which the political parties intervene in politics and gain state power, but this is mainly a matter of custom and is not necessarily set down in relevant legal articles or clear-cut rules and regulations. The political party systems in the world today falls mainly into two big categories: bourgeois and proletarian political party systems.

In capitalist countries there has always been a situation in which many parties exist side by side, but under certain conditions there emerged in the past the fascist one-party dictatorship. But, under normal circumstances, they are mainly bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, within which there is the worker class, and state power is always a monopoly of a bourgeois party. In this sense, there is no difference between the capitalist countries. But people are used to looking at the question from the angle of the specific number of parties in power, and they mainly study the "two-party system" and the "multiparty system."

The so-called "two party system" obtains when in a bourgeois country there exist two parties which hold the balance and are evenly matched, and they take turns in holding state power either through the number of seats one party gains in the country's legislative assembly or through the victory it wins in a presidential election. However, this is not to say that other small parties do not exist in the country, or that countries that have only two parties are all under the "two-party system." At times one side in the two-party system may be formed by a coalition of political parties.

The two-party system has a fairly long history, and is the system on which the bourgeoisie has lavished the most praise. It was once prevalent in Britain, America, and the countries which had become independent after being colonies of Britain. Now, with the exception of America, all the other countries have changed or are changing to the multiparty system.

With regard to the two-party system, even knowledgeable bourgeois scholars maintain that it is "the best instrument for suppressing minority groups who hold different political views." Marxists have revealed its hypocritical nature with regard to its class essence. For example, Engels pointed out that the trick by which the oligarchical form of government perpetuates itself is by "relinquishing state power with one hand and immediately grasping it with the other."

As for the so-called "multiparty system", this obtains when there exists within a country three or more parties none of which has absolute superiority. To get state power, a political party depends on a fortuitous election victory or on forming a coalition with other parties. Under the multiparty system, leftist parties perchance will also participate in the government but there is truly nothing that they can do. The other characteristics of the multiparty system are basically the same as those of the two-party system, and it is nothing more than a case of the bourgeois oligarchical form of government changing from two hands to three or more hands. In short, under neither the two-party system nor the multiparty system can the laboring people avow the fate of being oppressed or exploited.

The party system of socialist countries is a new type of party system completely contrary to this. There, although the names of the working class parties are not completely identical--in some countries democratic parties and groups that jointly struggle together with the revolutionary classes have existed together with them for a long time under mutual supervision--the working class, under the leadership of the communist party and on the basis of the alliance of the workers and peasants, unites all the revolutionary forces to form the broadest united front, and puts into practice a governmental system of people's democratic dictatorship with democratic centralism and administrative organizations produced by people's congresses, and with its goal of struggle being the establishment of socialism and communism. Here, between the various parties and groups and between the people and the government, there is a high degree of political unity, and thus there are no disputes as there are between the parties and groups in capitalist countries. Although modern political parties have been in existence for over 100 years, for a long time they did not draw the attention of political theory circles. Then, because the power of political parties permeates every domain of political life, many theoretical questions such as the "three-way division of power" were considered once again. Therefore, in the twenties and thirties of this century, the theory of political parties rapidly developed into one of the basic parts of the political science domain, almost all books that discuss the system and theory of the state bring up the question of political parties. Today, the study of the knowledge and theory pertaining to political parties will help us to understand the essence of the bourgeoisie's bogus democracy and to understand the current political situation, and to improve our work.

(The writer of this article is an assistant researcher in the Political Science Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)

EAST REGION

SHANDONG HOLDS POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK CONFERENCE

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Feb 83 p 1

[Article: "Conscientiously Stress Reform to Further Reorganize Public Security; Provincial Political and Legal Work Conference Convened in Jinan; Provincial Party Committee Secretaries Su Yiran [5685 3015 3544] and Gao Keting [7559 0668 0080] spoke at the Conference"]

[Text] A political and legal work conference for the entire province was recently held in Jinan. Political and legal work for this year was established during the conference in the spirit of reform. Conference participants were various prefecture and municipal party committee members, comrades from party committees of various large enterprises responsible for politics and law work, responsible comrades from provincial political and judicial committees, public security departments, procuratorial organs, courts of justice, judicial departments, and civil administration organs, as well as from political departments of related units, committees, offices, and bureaus, and provincial military regions, and responsible comrades of some of the counties.

Speeches were given by provincial party committee secretaries Su Yiran and Gao Keting.

The conference held that since a year ago notable improvements have been made in the province's public security situation, the number of criminal cases had decreased on a large scale, urban and rural public order had gradually become stabilized, and the people have gained a greater sense of security. A principal reason is that the entire party has greatly stressed the building of the two civilizations and extensively launched a struggle against serious economic crimes. As a result, the mental outlook of the masses has changed and the general mood of the society has improved, which has brought with it an improvement of public security. The second major reason is that the various levels of political and legal organizations have extensively carried out the spirit of the national political and law work conferences, put into full play their functional rules, and grasped the fundamental policy of comprehensive administrations. They have launched a general war of crackdown, prevention, and reform, exerted strong efforts in the fight against crime and implemented safety precaution measures.

Based on work summarization and the exchange of experience, the tasks in our province's political and law work were studied during the conference. Political and legal departments at various levels were asked to use the spirit of the 12th Party Congress as their guide to liberate thinking and to destroy the old and establish the new and, with reorganizing public security as the major emphasis, to extensively engage in tackling problems in a comprehensive way, create a new situation in political and legal work, and safeguard and push forward the smooth development of socialist modernization and construction.

It was pointed out at the conference that to create a new situation in political and legal work it is necessary to first stress the reform of political and legal work. Without reform, it would not be possible to meet the requirements for creating a new situation. The reform of political and legal work should use the new constitution as the standard and proceed in a manner that is beneficial in maintaining and guarding the sanctity of the constitution and in guaranteeing the implementation of the constitution. Political and legal organizations at various levels must intensively conduct investigations and studies with the spirit of reform, summarize experiences, and conscientiously and properly carry out their own work. At present, forces must be centralized to properly reorganize public security. Existing problems in public security must be conscientiously identified and listed in proper order and solved with a concentration of forces. The policy of following the law in a strict and prompt manner must continue to be thoroughly carried out moreover, it is necessary to effectively crack down on serious and active criminal activities. The struggle against economic crimes must be carried forward to the end without wavering.

The conference emphasized that in order to achieve a further improvement of public security it is necessary to firmly carry out the policy of "comprehensive administration" and to further implement the various comprehensive administrative measures. It is necessary to establish and perfect various forms of security protection responsibility systems, strengthen the education of youths and juveniles, especially those who violate the laws, strengthen the fight against criminal activities which endanger the socialist spiritual civilization, and mobilize the masses to establish "rural regulations and popular pacts" and develop the "five good families" activities in order to establish the socialist spiritual civilization among the masses. It is necessary to strengthen basic work in the grassroot levels, tighten security control, resolve people's disputes, and prevent the intensification of contradictions. It is necessary to strengthen labor reform and labor education work and reduce factors contributing to repeated offenses.

The conference held that the promulgation of the new constitution signifies that our country's democratic construction and legal system construction have entered a new stage. The conference called upon various localities to firmly strengthen the construction of the legal system and the rank and file political and legal workers. They must carry out propaganda education on the legal system among the broad masses of people using the new constitution as the focal point, so that the masses will know and understand the law, gradually cultivate a conscious law-abiding habit, and struggle against all behaviors which violate and cause damage to the constitution and law.

The conference asked that various localities firmly strengthen the buildup of political and legal workers, properly reorganize the leading bodies of political and legal departments, properly solve the cooperation and replacement between new and old cadres, improve ideological work style, make certain that political and legal workers are clean and honest, take a firm hold on the training of cadre police, improve political and professional quality, and truly establish a rank and file political and legal workers which has good fighting strength and maintains a relationship of flesh and blood with the masses and which is politically solid organizationally, pure strict in discipline, and competent in their professions.

The conference pointed out that at present the political and legal front are faced with heavy tasks and many new situations, and the leadership of the party must be firmly strengthened. Party committees at various levels must place political and legal work on their daily agenda for discussion. The top leadership of the party committees must be personally involved and the secretaries put in charge of a task must work with them.

Important problems in political and legal work and in the building up of a corp of political and legal workers must be scheduled for discussion. Political and legal departments at various levels must strengthen their concept of the party, make reports to the party committees regularly, conscientiously place themselves under the party's leadership, unite together, and strive to create a new situation in political and legal work.

5974

CSO: 4005/753

EAST REGION

SPIRIT OF REFORM IN POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK URGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Feb 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Use Spirit of Reform to Create a New Situation in Political and Legal Work"]

[Text] The recent province-wide conference on political and legal work was an important one to thoroughly carry out the spirit of reform and create a new situation of political and legal work in our province. The thorough implementation of the spirit of this conference will provide an effective impetus for political and legal work in our province.

To create a new situation in political and legal work, it is necessary to stress reform. Without reform, there will not be a new situation. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, comrades on our province's political and legal front have followed the party line, principles and policies with determination and they have accomplished large amounts of work and achieved notable results in the areas of strengthening democratic construction, legal system construction, and public security. However, some problems still exist in our work, making it difficult to meet the requirements of creating of a new situation. In this new year, political and legal departments at various levels must conscientiously and systematically summarize historical experiences and conduct widespread investigations and concrete analysis on past political and legal work, ideological work style, and systems and regulations. The favorable aspects must be maintained and developed. The unsuitable ones must be reformed and improved during reform.

The emphasis in this year's political and legal work should be placed on the reorganization public security work. First, political and legal departments at various levels must start from current and local conditions and place emphasis on public security problems, adopt effective measures, and vigorously carry out rectification. Public security departments at various levels, procuratorial organs, courts of justice, and judiciary organs must coordinate closely in their activities, thoroughly carry out the policy of following the law and dealing with serious cases and crack down on serious criminal elements who commit murder, arson, robbery, and rape, or engage in bombing, arms trafficking, smuggling and trading in smuggled goods, extorting and accepting bribes, and speculation and fraud. Moreover, party committees at various levels must mobilize the entire force of the society to jointly

accomplish the comprehensive handling of public security. Based on their individual functional characteristics, all propaganda departments of party committees and the leagues of workers, youths, and women must actively and properly carry out spiritual civilization construction with communist ideology as the nucleus, actively accomplish the study and propagandizing of the new constitution, and deeply develop the "five stresses, four points of beauty, and three ardent loves" activities. Plants, mines, enterprises, organizations, schools, and rural communes and brigades must strengthen their ideological and political work, strengthen the educational work of youths and juveniles and adopt measures to help and educate those who violate the law, establish and perfect various forms of security protection responsibility systems, and make sure that various tasks of comprehensive administration reach the basic levels.

The rectification of and placing of strict demands on disciplines, development of traditional good work styles, and proper buildup of political and legal work workers represent an important task on the present political and legal front. The rectification of discipline and work style means primarily the strengthening of education and training. It means carrying out traditional revolutionary education, education on discipline, and education on work ethics among the broad masses of cadre police, improving the concept of democracy, overcoming the ideology of special privilege, and improving the overall political and professional quality of the rank and file workers in the political and legal profession. A cadre policeman who who violates the law while enforcing the law and violates the rights of people must be disciplined according to the law, so that the functional responsibilities of political and legal organizations of protecting the people and cracking down on the enemy are better demonstrated.

Our party has always placed strong emphasis on political and legal work. The party's leadership is a guarantee for the success of political and legal work. The promulgation and implementation of the new constitution shows that our country has entered a new stage of governing by law and presents a greater requirement for our political and legal work. The work of public security departments at various levels, procuratorial organs, courts of justice and judicial organs face new situation and new problems. Under these conditions, stronger leadership by the party committees has become even more important. The party committees must have scheduled discussions on political and legal work and on building up a corp of political and legal workers. At present, leadership bodies of political and legal departments must be reorganized and staffed, especially in accordance with the policy of making the cadre rank more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally more competent. The authority of political and legal departments must be actively supported and they must operate with independence. No leading cadres should be allowed to issue regulations or give orders contrary to the law. Comrades of political and legal departments must conduct their activities actively and with initiative and obtain instructions from and report to the party committees on a timely basis.

Under the leadership of party committees at various levels and through the efforts of the political and legal cadre police throughout the province, a new situation in our province's political and legal work will definitely appear in the new year and the social atmosphere and public security will definitely realize even greater improvement.

EAST REGION

DECISIONS ON REFORMING MEETING SYSTEM, BUREAUCRATIC PROBLEMS MADE

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Mar 83 p 1

[Report by Lin Qinyang [2651 2953 0111]: "Endeavoring to Change Workstyle, Improve Work Efficiency: Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Government Make Decisions on Reforming the Meeting System and Other Matters"

[Text] In order to change the workstyle in our leadership, ameliorate our working methods, and improve our work efficiency, the provincial party committee most recently made several decisions on reforming the meeting system, carrying out the separation of the party from the government, and having leaders go deep down to conduct investigation and study; these decisions have already been conveyed by the provincial party committee and offices of the provincial government to party committees and governments at all levels for implementation.

On the questions simplifying meetings and reforming the meeting system the provincial party committee and provincial government, apart from the provincial party committee's conference on countryside work already held in January, are to hold this year only four more meetings: the cities and townships work conference, the 6th provincial people's congress, the plenary session of the provincial party committee (to discuss scientific and technological work), and the 4th provincial party congress. On the province-wide meetings party and government departments at the provincial level need to convene, the practice of holding them in odd months, but not in even months will be put into effect in order to facilitate the arrangements for provincial, regional and local party and government leaders to conduct lower level investigations and studies, solve practical problems, and arrange some other work for themselves. Meetings of academic organizations and mass organizations may be held in even months; but the convening of such meetings must be strictly controlled. Whatever can be solved by sending documents, telephoning, or holding a telephone meeting should not be left to any meeting to do; meetings that can be held jointly should not be held separately; where small meetings may suffice things should not be left to large meetings; where short meetings may suffice, long meetings should not be called. In the case of province-wide meetings requiring the participation of more than 100 persons to be called by various departments at the provincial level, they should be reported for approval once every half year, with the

provincial party committee and office of the provincial government exercising the responsibility of control.

On the question of division of labor between the party and the government, the provincial party committee and provincial government stressed the requirement that matters within the jurisdiction and power of a government office should not be submitted to study by a meeting of the party committee; matters that can be solved by a department should not be submitted to study by a meeting of the party committee or government office; matters on which the superior level has already provided clear prescriptions and the party committee and the government have already made decisions on principles should no longer be submitted to study by a meeting of the party committee standing committee or the government office. After participating in a business meeting convened by the superior level, the departments should take the initiative to express views on implementation, make reports to the leaders respectively in charge of the matters, and, after obtaining their consent, proceed to implement them generally without having to make reports further to a meeting of the party committee standing committee or the government office. Meetings convened by the departments should not ask principal leaders of the party or government to be present for reception or speeches, nor designate leading comrades in charge of subordinate party committee and government offices to participate. Meetings that really need the leading comrades in charge to participate should be reported to party committee and government office at the same level for approval.

On the questions of our leaders changing their workstyle and going to lower levels to conduct investigation and study, the provincial party committee and provincial government decided to promote the adoption of the forms on-the-spot office meetings, and roving office meetings, so as to carry out face-to-face guidance. At present, the provincial party committee is concentrating its energy in grasping well the staffing of the leading groups of departments directly under the jurisdiction of the province and various regions and municipalities in order to set up all the new groups and settle the old cadres properly. After March, most comrades, including the secretaries of the provincial party committee and members of its standing committee other than those few left behind to handle daily routines are to go down to the basic level to conduct investigation and study and do a good job in their reform work.

9255

CSO: 4005/690

EAST REGION

FORMALISM IN CIVILITY AND COURTESY PRACTICES BELABORED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Mar 83 p 1

[Commentary by Mao Rong [5399 1539]: "A Few Words Before the Arrival of the Inspection Group..."]

[Excerpts] The second civility and courtesy month is just about over. We are pleased to see that the new wind of civility is blowing across the whole province of Fujian; "the three-fine and one study" campaign is carried out with utter exertion; efforts to handle "dirt, disorder, and inadequacy" are gaining results. Compared to the corresponding period last year, the activities this time have really climbed a step higher.

This is the general impression. But what are the actual situation in the various localities? What new experiences are gained? And what shortcomings are discovered? All this requires us to conduct an overall inspection. Beforehand, we must make relevant arrangements; afterwards, we must conduct an inspection; inspection, too, is an impetus. Through inspection, critical comparison, summing-up, and exchange of experiences, and good people and good deeds commended, we are bound to be able to push our civility and courtesy month activities still deeper.

Resorting to formalism aims at false reputation; but in launching our civility and courtesy month activities we must stress practical results. This year is the first of a 5-year period within which the 12th Party Congress has proposed to strive for the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our social trends, an important year in which we are accelerating our steps of reform in the economic and other realms, and also the 20th anniversary of the party central committee's call on us to learn from Comrade Lei Feng; the civility and courtesy month activities this time are setting even higher requirements for us. But, in a certain locality, in a certain unit, we must still proceed from the reality there in order to attain any such requirements, we must grasp several problems with which the masses are most concerned and which they feel an urgency to solve, adopt effective measures to seriously solve them, and practically accomplish a few things. Only thus can we reap most effective results and play a role in promoting the building of our socialist spiritual civilization. In the case of individual places where people adopt shock measures with fanfare only when

they attempt to cope with an inspection and put up a front, it is bound to be devoid of practical results like rushing water leaving no traces.

Of course, handling "dirt, disorder and inadequacy" to effect a fundamental turn for the better in our social trends is not something that can be entirely solved merely by one or two civility and courtesy month campaigns; we can hardly finish the task in one battle but need to promote it month after month and year after year by making it a constant undertaking, pushing the fine experiences and fine approaches in our civility and courtesy month activities in the direction of institutionalization and regularization, and applying them in the various concrete undertakings in building our socialist spiritual civilization. The building of our spiritual civilization and that of our material civilization must be grasped together. Every leader and every citizen should consciously become a builder of both civilizations.

9255

CSO: 4005/690

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

SEPARATION OF GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION, COMMUNE MANAGEMENT URGED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 22 Mar 83 p 1

[Article: "It Is Imperative to Separate Government Administration from Commune Management"]

[Text] After the original Yonghe Commune of Zengcheng County set up its township CPC committee, yesterday it again founded the township government and the combined agricultural, industrial and commercial company, and made an initial step in the reform of the municipal people's commune system. We sincerely congratulate all three, the party, the government and the enterprises of Yonghe township for the new accomplishment of each performing its own duties and fulfilling its own responsibilities and for making a new contribution toward pushing ahead with systems reform throughout the whole municipality.

The 1958 integration of government administration and commune management created by the organization of people's communes was deeply corrupt and change was necessary. Due to the "integration of government administration and commune management," the combination of state power and collective economy into one body fostered blind guidance and coercive commandism, making it easy for the right to independence of production brigades and the right to democracy of commune members, as well as material benefits, to be infringed upon, and effective resistance was impossible. The peculiarity of "three-level ownership" provided the legitimatization for whipping up the "communist wind" and instigating "egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources"; because the party, the state and enterprise were not separated, the commune CPC committee centralized great power into one body; the party replaced the state, the state replaced the enterprise, and the work of the party committee was all-inclusive so that, attending to some things and losing sight of others, the party failed to run itself, principles and policies were not implemented thoroughly and many problems in the masses' production and people's livelihood could not be solved.

Many advantages will follow the separation of government administration and commune management. The building of rural basic level units can be strengthened, the township government can concentrate its efforts, handle civil disputes, public security, public health, cultural life, the construction of public housing, aid to the poor, the building of paved roads, youth education, maternity and child-care, family planning and other projects. Following the establishment

of the separation of the party, state and enterprise, the cadres will be able to perform their own duties, and this will benefit the development of cadre in requiring specialized skills and knowledge. After the township party committee extricates itself from daily production and administrative duties, it can give undivided attention to ensuring the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, handle well the affairs of the party, and solve the problem of the party organization being weak and lax at the basic level. When government administration is separated from commune management, it can through this system, develop rural production and further initiate a new phase in the creation of a beneficial state of affairs.

Systems reform is imperative, but there must be leadership, procedures, and orderly progress, as well. Before the reform, every worker must maintain his post and, with a high degree of political party consciousness and a feeling of revolutionary responsibility, meticulously stress work and production. He cannot waver in his thought and be negligent in his work just because he doesn't know which "temple" to squat in or on which "bench" to sit. And even less should he seize the opportunity to plot personal gain, join up with small groups, privately divide up the nation's property, or take the opportunity to go traveling about. Every cadre should implement those regulations of the departments under the Party Central Organizations which pertain to what each cadre level must abide by in structural reform, not do things which would be unfavorable toward structural reform, not say things which would be unbeneficial to solidarity, and be promoters in structural reform.

12314

CSO: 4005/758

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGULATIONS ON LAND, CONSTRUCTION VIOLATIONS SET FORTH

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Article: "The Municipal People's Government Sets Forth Regulations to Deal with Illegally Occupied Land and Illegal Construction"]

[Text] The Municipal People's Government yesterday issued the circular "Several Regulations to Deal with Illegal Occupation of Land and Illegal Construction Before 1982," requiring every department concerned to execute them accordingly.

The regulations pointed out that illegal construction on public facilities, vegetable plots, parks, scenic spots or key areas of national construction must be dismantled and individuals must hand over control of the site to the original managing department within a limited period of time. Where losses have been incurred, compensation will be ordered. Buildings not razed before the deadline will be confiscated. According to the area of the land occupied, space which has not been evacuated before the deadline will be liable to a fine of one "jiao" a day per square meter until it is evacuated. Of the land illegally occupied prior to the end of 1966, only wasteland or unused land will have to be returned; in general, there will be no liability for such land. The differing circumstances of cases of illegal occupation from 1967 to September of 1980, during the period previous to the municipal government's communique, will be distinguished and fines will be levied accordingly.

In regard to dealing with real estate rental and purchase, the "Circular" stipulates that starting from January of this year, rent will no longer be paid to rental units, which will temporarily be compensated according to average yearly production prices for the cultivated land originally occupied, but not for cultivated land that earns no profit; those who buy or sell real estate will receive neither economic compensation nor the allocation of labor forces, and furthermore, both parties to rental and purchasing transactions will be served with fines. Where there is no conflict with municipal projects, permission may be granted to remedy the proper procedures for use of the land.

Concerning the handling of illegal construction, the "Regulations" pointed out that those who do not heed the persuasion to cease and forceably continue construction, those who make a profit from the sale of illegally occupied land or illegally constructed buildings, those who cause the nation loss of property

through illegal action, and cadres who lead raids to occupy cultivated lands, parks, or scenic spots, making a very bad impression upon the masses, will be served with fines, and, when necessary, it will be proposed that they be disciplined by the department in charge of them: violations of criminal law are to be dealt with according to the law. In addition, proper regulations were also set forth regarding illegal constructions along the banks of riverways, individual stalls occupying roadways or sidewalks, and commune brigade enterprises or commune members occupying and privately building on land.

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CSO: 4005/758

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

YONGHE TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED IN GUANGZHOU

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 22 Mar 83 p 1

[Article: "The State and Commune Separation's First Township Government in Guangzhou Prefecture, Yonghe Township Government Established Yesterday in Zengcheng County"]

[Text] Correspondent Chen Jinzhi [7115 6855 1807] reports that yesterday the first Guangzhou prefecture township government--the People's Government of Yonghe Township, Zengcheng County--was formally established. At 1100 hours to the sound of enthusiastic applause from the masses, the township head Song Jinyuan [1345 6930 3293] removed the old sign of the Yonghe People's Commune and hung up a two-sided sign which read "The People's Government of Yonghe Township, Zengcheng County" and "The Joint Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial Company of Yonghe Township, Zengcheng County," thus ending the former situation of a lack of separation between party and state whereby the party took the place of the state and the state took the place of the enterprise.

The systems reform in this commune has been conducted under the leadership of the municipal and county CPC committees. Three leadership groups, the party, the state and the enterprise, have been set up separately, each to perform its own duties and fulfill its own responsibilities. The original commune has been changed into a township; the large brigades are to become villages, and the production brigades are to set up village people's groups, and simultaneously set up agricultural producer's cooperatives. The previous ownership of economic organizations will remain the same; collective ownership of property will not change. And in order to avoid putting an increased strain upon the masses, the staff of administrative personnel will not be increased.

The Yonghe Township CPC Committee first set up in mid-March is composed of 11 full-time cadres. They include one CPC committee secretary, a deputy-secretary (another deputy-secretary concurrently holds the post of township head), an organization committee member, a propaganda committee member, (concurrently also on the united front committee), persons in charge of discipline inspection and economic affairs, a secretary, a confidential secretary, a Communist Youth League cadre, a Women's Federation cadre and a Peasant Association cadre. The important tasks of the party township committee are to correctly and thoroughly implement the party's line, principles and policies, stress well the building of party's ideological building and organizational construction and ensure the smooth progress of the building of these two civilizations.

The township government has been furnished with 15 full-time cadres. They include the township head, two deputy-leaders, two production assistants (concurrently Science Association members), a legal assistant, a finance and food assistant, a culture and education assistant, a family planning assistant, a copy clerk, a data statistician and a person in charge of general affairs, a people's armed forces department commander, and a person in charge of the people's armed forces department. At the same time, a local police station for public security has been set up. The important tasks of the Township People's Government are as follows: to thoroughly execute the policies and orders of upper-level Party and state organs; to implement resolutions approved by the Township People's Congress; and, through the Agricultural Industrial and Commercial Company's concrete leadership and management of all economic projects in the entire township, to carry out supervision and proceed with necessary administrative plans; to manage finances and taxation well; to make known national production plans and requisitions and purchase quotas for agricultural and sideline products and ensure the fulfillment of every quota assigned by the nation; do a good job of civil administration, education, health, the building of culture, public security, the mediation of civil disputes, militia building, conscription, family planning, and other projects; and to formulate plans for the restoration of ruined towns and the construction of housing for commune members, and, in planning for the establishment of social welfare, to provide supervision, encouragement and organization.

The Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial Company established by the township is a cooperative economic organization collectively owned by the working masses, and it is the management structure of the township's economy, as well as a real economic entity having the right to independent management. Under the corporation's jurisdiction are industrial, agricultural, and technological services, trade, livestock breeding, aquatic production, forestry and other specialized businesses. The social status and salary of state cadres who are transferred to work in the company will remain the same.

After completing the division between the party, state and enterprise at the primary township level, Yonghe Township will begin to carry out systems reform of the brigades and the production brigades. Brigades will be changed into villages and properly set up village CPC branches and village corporations of agriculture, industry and commerce. The administrative structure of the villages will be village people's CPC committees made up of 7-15 people under which there will be five committees including family planning, civil administration, mediation of civil disputes, public security, and culture, education and health, which in accordance with realistic needs will be furnished with cadres. Three of these people--the party branch secretary, the chairman of the village people's CPC committee and the secretary will earn a fixed subsidiary allowance; four of them, the militia commander, the Women's Federation chairperson, the director of public security department and the League branch secretary, will earn half of the fixed subsidiary allowance or overtime compensation, while overtime compensation will be in effect for the other workers.

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NORTH REGION

CHEN FU'S HIGHER PEOPLE'S COURT WORK REPORT

SK070106 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 May 83 p 2

[Excerpts of Tianjin Municipal Higher People's Court Work Report delivered by Chen Fu, president of the Municipal Higher People's Court, at the 1st Session of the 10th Tianjin Municipal People's Congress]

[Text] Since the 3d Session of the 9th Municipal People's Congress, under the guidance of the line, principles and policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the guidelines of the 12th National Party Congress, the people's courts at all levels in our municipality have further strengthened judicial work, strictly punished those who have jeopardized the social order and undermined the socialist economy, cracked down on some criminal activities, safeguarded the democratic rights and safety of the citizens and the legal rights and interests of the state, the collective, and the individual, given full rein to their functionary role as judicial organs of the state in safeguarding and promoting the four modernizations construction, and have satisfactorily fulfilled the tasks entrusted to them by the Constitution.

The people's courts at all levels have conscientiously implemented the decisions of the Party Central Committee and the State Council on "Dealing Blows to Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Sphere," and the decision of the NPC Standing Committee on "Strictly Punishing Criminals Who Seriously Disrupt the Economy," attached prime importance to the task of trying economic criminal cases, adhered to the consistent principle of attacking a small number of wrong doers, winning them over, splitting them up, and redeeming a large number of them, and have conscientiously implemented the basic policy of integrating strict punishments with lenient ones--leniency to those who confess their crimes and severity to those who refuse to. In the course of handling specific cases, the people's courts at all levels have grasped the essential points, concentrated efforts on handling major and appalling cases based on facts, taken the law as the criterion, stressed evidence, investigations, and research, strictly distinguished between economic crimes and unhealthy tendencies in the economic sphere, mistakes in work, and problems that have cropped up because of imperfect systems and methods, and, in accordance with the facts and nature of crimes and the damage they bring to society and in line with the stipulations of the law, have meted out severe or light punishment for

infractions, thus giving full rein to the legal power of the policies of the party and the state. Meanwhile, the people's courts have energetically dealt blows to criminal activities in the economic sphere in a timely manner and have urged a number of economic criminals to surrender themselves, to voluntarily return illegal gains, and to expose other criminals, reducing the number of economic criminal offenses and checking unhealthy tendencies. In addition, this has inspired and educated the cadres and the masses and has promoted the development of the struggle against economic criminals.

Last year, despite a marked improvement in social order, there were still many unstable factors. Appalling murder, robbery rape, and hooligan cases happened frequently. Of this, rape cases were the most prominent. Most victims were seriously, physically injured and mentally affected, and some were killed. This has jeopardized social order, endangered the safety of the masses, and has impeded the four modernizations construction. The people's courts at all levels have continuously consolidated the public security, considering it their main task, and have resolutely meted out strict punishment to counterrevolutionaries and criminals who seriously disrupted social order, especially hooligans, rapists, and robbers, in accordance with the law. This reflects the desire of the broad masses of people and the power of the people's democratic dictatorship.

In line with the principle of the party and the state on educating, helping, and reforming erring juveniles and youths and the stipulations of the law, the people's courts at all levels have commuted the sentences for minor offenders, casual offenders, accessory criminals, and delinquents or have exempted them from punishment. We have suspended sentences for those criminals who definitely would not bring harm to society again and have educated and reformed them by relying on the strength of society.

In the course of handling feudal, arranged, and mercenary marriage cases and civil disputes, we have strictly implemented the "Law on Civil Accusation for Trial Use," relied on the masses, conducted investigations and research, stressed mediation, toured the localities to try cases, handled cases on the spots, and have carried out meticulous and patient ideological and political work. Through handling civil cases, some acute contradictions conflicts, and disputes have been settled, thus safeguarding the legal rights and benefits of females, children, and the aged. We have adhered to the principle of giving equal consideration to safeguarding the interests of the state and the collective and the legal rights of the individual and have given punishment in accordance with the law for those who infringed upon the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual. At the same time, we have strengthened the building of civil courts and guidance for the mediating committees and have strived to nip grassroots civil disputes in the bud.

Last year, on the basis of investigating facts, distinguishing between wrong and wrong, and clarifying responsibility, and in line with the relevant policies and the "Economic Contract Law," the people's courts at all levels have mediated and properly handled in accordance with the law some economic cases, playing a positive role in ensuring the correct implementation of the economic contracts and protecting the legal rights and benefits of the persons

concerned, maintaining the socialist economic order, improving economic results, and promoting the development of socialist construction.

In the course of comprehensively tackling problems on public security and while actively strengthening the administration of justice, the people's courts have raised their political efficiency in handling cases through various forms.

In the past year, people's courts at all levels have conscientiously selected some typical cases for holding various forms of open trials on 93 occasions. And more than 283,000 people attended these trials as visitors. In particular, to play a supporting role in dealing blows to serious economic crimes and in consolidating public security, three open trials were held in July, September, and November. Through live television and radio broadcasts and through newspapers, a lively education on the legal system has been conducted across the municipality; the arrogance of criminals has been stricken; law violators and criminals have been warned; and the people have been supported and encouraged to struggle against criminals.

After the promulgation of the Constitution, the Law on Civil Procedure (for trial implementation) and the Law on Economic Contracts, to meet the demands of many masses and units, the judicial personnel have explained these laws in line with the reality of open trials and have written articles to propagate these laws through television and radio stations and through newspapers.

At the same time, while handling various kinds of cases, people's courts at all levels have conscientiously analyzed the causes of cases, paid attention to problems, and have actively put forward judicial suggestions to the departments concerned, thus helping them eliminate loopholes, improve management, establish various regulations and systems, and strengthen ideological education, preventing crimes and reducing disputes.

In this stage, people's courts at all levels across the municipality have conscientiously implemented the party's policies and the state laws and most judicial personnel have made great efforts to improve their quality in handling cases. Our work has, however, failed to meet the demands of the party, and some problems still exist in organization, ideology and workstyle. Some judicial personnel have tried cases in a simple and rude manner and have delayed handling affairs. All these problems should be solved in the future.

While creating a new situation in socialist modernization, the task for people's courts is to ensure and promote the smooth progress of the four modernizations through handling cases strictly according to law. People's courts at all levels should be adapt at using the legal weapon to exercise dictatorship over the small number of hostile elements who oppose socialism; should continue to severely and promptly punish and deal with the criminals who seriously sabotage social order, such as murderers, robbers, rapists, and arsonists; should make continued and greater efforts to try economic crimes and, in particular, major and appalling cases; should pay attention to the administration of justice over civil cases and properly and expeditiously handle civil cases; and should strengthen the judicial work of people's courts and tribunals at the grassroots

level in accordance with policies and laws and with an attitude of being responsible for the people so as to handle in a timely manner the large amount of general civil disputes and slight criminal cases and to prevent the emergence of major and appalling criminal cases which are caused by intensified contradictions. People's courts at all levels should also actively handle according to law the increasing number of economic disputes and cases in line with the principle of being conducive to the economic construction, strengthen the supervision of justice, engage in the work of receiving visits and letters from the masses, adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever discovered, and should, with their own activities, educate the citizens to abide by the constitution and laws.

The task for people's courts is very arduous. To fulfill the task, it is necessary to carry out reforms in accordance with the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress and with the regulations of the new Constitution so as to create a new situation in the people's judicial work.

Only by carrying out reforms can people's courts, like other departments, thoroughly break with the influence of "leftist" ideology and outmoded regulations, eliminate the out-dated "yamen" workstyle, better adhere to the four basic principles, correctly implement the laws, and give play to the role of legal means for guaranteeing the four modernizations so as to make the judicial work fully reflect the will and demands of the people and better serve them.

The people have entrusted us with the solemn judicial authority, so we will certainly live up to the expectations of the party and the people. We pledge to study, to abide by and to implement the new Constitution under the guidance of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress so as to make due contributions to building our country into a modern socialist country with high-degree of civilization and democracy.

CSO: 4005/860

NORTH REGION

HEBEI CPPCC MEMBERSHIP REFLECTS UNITED FRONT LINE

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Apr 83 p 1

[Report: "The Patriotic United Front in Our Province Further Consolidates and Develops Itself: Members of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Are Even More Broadly Representative"]

[Text] The list of members of our Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee was formally passed through consultation at the 17th meeting of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Standing Committee. These members of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee number 664; they have maintained the basic scale of the last committee membership. Of these, continuing members number 286, and new members, 378.. Most of the new members are from circles that have made outstanding contributions to the construction of our four modernizations. Among them there are relatively young scientific and technical personnel, teachers of the superclass, labor models, advanced workers, '38 Red Standard bearers, New Long March Troopers, fine cultural and art workers, fine athletes, plus representatives of households which have enriched themselves through labor in the countryside, individual industrial and commercial households in the cities, families of well-known patriots, and those having influence toward the reunification of our motherland.

This list of members of the provincial CPPCC Committee was produced on the basis of the CPPCC's nature, tasks and role in the new historical period, in accordance with the principles of "uniform planning and comprehensive considerations and overall arrangements," and through repeated exchanges of views and democratic consultations among the various democratic parties and groups, people's organizations and nonparty patriotic personages as well as recommendations from various concerned departments. The membership of this CPCC Committee is made up of representatives from 28 units and circles; they include representatives from all parties and groups, people's organizations, nonparty personages, and forestry and water conservancy, culture and art, education, energy and communications, science and technology, social science, medicine and public health, sports, press and publication, religion, minority nationality, returned Overseas Chinese, the PLA, specially invited persons and other circles in our province. Of these 664 committee members, communists number 253, making up only 38 percent of the total; members of various democratic parties and groups number 118; women committee members, 89, making up 13.4 percent; committee members of the Hui, Manchu and Korean minority nationalities, 43; brethren of Taiwanese nationality, 10; and Overseas Chinese, 14. The proportion of intellectuals in the membership is very heavy;

those with a cultural level of university and college and above alone number 327, making up 48 percent of the total. A large contingent of middle-aged members are added to the Fifth CPPCC Committee; the average age of all committee members is 56.6 years, a decrease of 6.4 years compared with the fourth committee. This demonstrates the spirit of cooperation and replacement between the old and the new, making the new CPPCC Committee even more vital. It reflects the further consolidation and expansion of our provincial patriotic united front and demonstrates the great unity among the various democratic parties and groups, people's organizations and people of various circles.

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NORTH REGION

HEBEI IMPLEMENTS PARTY, GOVERNMENT WORK

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 83 p 4

[Article: "Party and Government Expect Division of Work To Be Clear-Cut"]

[Text] Chu An Commune is the pilot project for Renqiu County's reform of the organizational system of its production brigades. In September, 1982 the original organizational system was changed; a township party committee, township government, and township people's commune were separately established; and 11 villages all set up party branches, village residents' committees, and production cooperatives; thus changing the past circumstances in which the party took the place of the local government and the local government took the place of the enterprise, and strengthening the party's leadership, bringing into full play the functions and role of the individual organizations, so that all aspects of work showed a new improvement.

After the organizational system of Chu An Township was changed, in order to solve the problem of lack of clear delineation among the authority and tasks of the individual organizational structures, the township party committee, government, and people's commune conscientiously studied the new party constitution and the new constitution and, on the basis of clarifying the nature of the work of each, from above to below and from bottom to top repeatedly engaged in discussion and research and, basing themselves on the principle that the township party committee would be responsible to the county party committee and take care of party work, the township government would be responsible to the county government and take care of administration, and the people's commune would take care of economic matters, clearly delineated the scope of authority of each. The leading members of the party, the local government, and the enterprise also clarified their own duties, and implemented the responsibility system relating to their individual posts. They also took the provisions dealing with their individual duties and scope of authority and posted notices of them on the wall to announce them to the people. Each village also, in accordance with the method used by the township, clarified the scope of duty of the village party branches, village residents' committees, and production cooperatives, as well as the system of responsibilities of the various cadre posts. After the work of the party, the government, and the enterprise was thus divided, some people still sought out party committee secretaries to solve some problems in administrative work, and sought out the head of the

township to solve some problems of industrial and agricultural production. In response to this, we must say patiently and clearly that people must be sought out to help solve problems according to the work they are responsible for. In this way, the township party committee can pay attention to establishing the authority of the township government, and the township government can pay attention to establishing the authority of the township's people's commune, and each organization can bring its own role into full play. Those in charge of the township government and the township's people's commune have also overcome their previous dependent mentality, and are conscientiously taking charge of administrative and economic work.

Following this clear distinction among the work of the party, the government, and the enterprise, all work was in perfect order. The township party committee was released from many onerous administrative tasks, immersed itself in the investigation and study of problems, and enabled the party's principles and policies to be more fully implemented, so that some villages and production brigades very quickly completed the tasks they had been assigned, and perfected their production responsibility systems. At the same time, they stepped up the work of carrying out the party's tasks, carried out a comprehensive investigation of the leading bodies of the township's 11 villages, and caused the party branch members of the 2 villages having the greatest problems to undergo a democratic election and a reorganization, thus heightening the party organizations' fighting effectiveness. Throughout the township a system was put into effect of making the township party committee responsible for the village party branches, and the members of the village party branch committees responsible for party groups, bringing about a notable improvement in party work style and the people's work styles. The township government and the township's people's commune also independently exercised their own authority, so that there was also a great improvement in both administrative and economic work.

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NORTH REGION

PROMOTION OF EDUCATION ON PATRIOTISM, COMMUNISM REPORTED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Apr 83 p 1

[Report by Feng Side [7458 1835 1795]: "Provincial Five-Stresses, Four-Points-of-Beauty, and Three-Loves Activities Committee Established and Holds First Meeting: Energetically Grasp Well Education on Patriotism and Communism To Add New Glories to Hebei; Gao Zhanxiang [7559 0594 4382] Says: We Must Combine Education on Love of the Motherland with Education on Love of Hebei to Teach Youths To Love Hebei, Build Hebei and Turn the Slogan 'Let Me Add Glories to Hebei' into the Motto of All the People in Hebei"]

[Text] On 8 April, on the basis of a decision by the party Central Committee and the State Council, the provincial party committee established a provincial committee with Gao Zhanxiang serving as chairman, and Li Feng [2621 6912], Xu Chunxing [1776 4783 1840], and Wu Fuheng [0702 1381 5899] as vice chairmen. Its membership consists of responsible comrades from relevant departments directly under the jurisdiction of the province and from Shijiazhuang Municipality, who altogether number 30. On 12 April, the committee held its first meeting.

Xu Chunxing, member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and chief of its propaganda department, presided over the meeting. First of all, on behalf of the provincial party committee he announced the list of committee members. Then, the propaganda department of the provincial party committee made a report to the committee on activities of the second "nation-wide civility and courtesy month" in our province.

Gao Zhanxiang, secretary of the provincial party committee and chairman of the provincial five-stresses, four-points-of-beauty, and three-loves activities committee, gave a speech on the importance and necessity of establishing the committee, the nature and tasks of the committee, the basic approaches by which the committee is to launch its work, and the glorious responsibilities and duties of members of the committee. He pointed out that after its establishment this provincial five-stresses, four-points-of-beauty and three-loves activities committee should grasp well the following three aspects of work:

One--To energetically grasp well education on patriotism and communism. We must push through this education to various realms and various activities. We must combine the education on love for the motherland with that on love

for Hebei Province by educating youths to love Hebei, build Hebei and add new glories to Hebei. Let the vast ranks of youths and children understand that our Hebei has an ancient history and long culture, glorious traditions and rich resources. The footprints of our struggling predecessors remain everywhere in the land of our Hebei. Today, Hebei is marching ahead with stability and unity in step with our times. We must, through propaganda and education, stimulate the Hebei people's sense of honor and pride and thereby enhance their sense of responsibility in order to turn the slogan "I am going to add glories to Hebei" into the motto of all the people of Hebei.

In carrying out education on communism, we must also make a point of grasping well education on communist morality, including the morality of civic virtues, education on professional ethics, education on family and marital ethics, and so on, in order to enhance the people's ideological consciousness and moral criteria and, what is even more important, under the new situation in which the contracted responsibility system is being energetically promoted on every front, grasp well education on professional ethics in all trades.

Two--To energetically launch activities with rich educational significance and rich practical effects. In the practice of building our socialist spiritual civilization, the people of our province have created many fine forms of activity, such as civility villages, five-good families, youth service teams, teams of contract production households, and so on, which may be called the four pearls of our Hebei in launching these five-stresses, four-points-of-beauty and three-loves activities. In our activities we must continue to hand onto these approaches and forms we have adopted. Meanwhile, we must also combine them with the "three-fine and one-study" activities, activities among students to "create the three-goods," and in our birth control work, the "three-nos" activities which are being promoted across the country. We must continue to strengthen the building of the battlefront of our mass culture by regularly launching multifarious mass cultural activities and thereby replacing those activities which are vulgar and base with positive, healthy cultural activities.

Three--To sum up our typical experiences in promoting regularization and institutionalization in these activities, guide others with these advanced models, and enable these activities to go forward in a deepening, healthy and vigorous manner.

Li Feng, member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and deputy provincial governor, also gave a brief talk at the end of the meeting. He emphatically pointed out that these five-stresses and four-points-of-beauty activities are activities of the whole party and the whole nation; leaders at all levels must deepen their perception, establish the viewpoint of grasping simultaneously both spiritual and material civilization. They must give scope to our spirit of making assiduous and undaunted efforts and not being afraid of meeting hardship and difficulties squarely, persist in what they do and stick to it to the very end, and make their contributions to the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in the customs of our province.

NORTH REGION

TIANJIN PROCURATORATE WORK REPORT

SK011145 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Apr 83 p 3

["Excerpts" of the Report on the Work of the Tianjin Municipal People's Procuratorate delivered by Fan Qingdian, chief procurator of the Tianjin Municipal People's Procuratorate, at the First Session of the 10th Municipal People's Congress]

[Text] Last year, the procuratorial organs at all levels of the municipality carried out their procuratorial work by focusing on dealing blows at serious criminal activities in the economic field and on improving public security.

In early 1982, following the unified plans of the central authorities and the municipal party committee, procuratorial organs of the municipality conscientiously strengthened leadership, worked out measures, acted quickly and made great efforts to carry out their work. The municipal procuratorate established a group to lead the work of attacking economic crimes. All district and county procuratorates also organized corresponding groups. Nearly one-third of the cadres and policemen of the municipality's procuratorates plunged into the struggle to deal blows at economic crimes.

Early last year, the procuratorial organs at all levels, in cooperation with relevant departments, conducted extensive propaganda on the two "Decisions" which urged law violators to clearly understand the situation and to seize the opportunity to surrender themselves to the police. This achieved good results. By "1 May," 187 people surrendered to procuratorial organs and were dealt with leniently according to law in line with the spirit of the "Decision." Those who resisted the "Decisions," defied the law and continued to commit crimes were sternly punished according to the law. The force of policies and law was fully developed, and a number of law violators were saved.

In the past year, the people's procuratorates at all levels, on the principle of handling big, appalling cases sternly and promptly, worked in coordination with other departments concerned to investigate and instituted proceedings against a group of economic criminals in the people's courts at various levels, thus achieving remarkable results in attacking serious economic crimes, safeguarding the legal system, frightening criminals, reducing economic crimes and educating the masses of cadres and the rank and file to combat corrosion.

While attacking economic criminal activities, procuratorial organs worked together with public security departments and courts to improve public security and deal blows at counterrevolutionary and other criminal activities. A group of criminals guilty of murder, arson, robbery, rape, explosion and other crimes were investigated, arrested and prosecuted and punished sternly and promptly.

Thanks to our great efforts to improve social order and to deal telling blows at criminals who seriously endangered public security, criminal cases declined by 17.6 percent in 1982 as compared with 1981, and public order improved remarkably.

While vigorously carrying out various procuratorial work, procuratorial organs at all levels put their work on the basis of handling cases and adopted comprehensive measures to organically combine the efforts to attack, transform and prevent criminals and to expand the political effects from the handling of cases. Through handling the cases, they offered timely suggestions to some organs and enterprises and establishments to plug their loopholes in management, and they assisted units where crimes occurred in adopting measures to improve their systems and to strengthen their management. They helped a total of 95 units establish and improve security systems. In the meantime, they used various methods to disseminate information on the legal system. This also played a part in preventing crimes.

In view of the fact that juvenile delinquency is still a great proportion of crime, procuratorial organs at all levels adhered to the principle of educating, helping and saving criminals when handling cases. Except for a few criminals guilty of serious offences, they mobilized the forces from all quarters of the society to educate and help delinquents to correct their mistakes and turn over a new leaf. They also cooperated with public security organs to strengthen the work of helping, educating and saving people subjected to reform or education through labor, thus improving the quality of reform work. When they were strengthening education and reform work, these procuratorial organs dealt stern blows at those who had committed crimes again or the "top persons" who resisted transformation. In addition, they intensified procuratorial supervision over criminals who were put under surveillance, probation and parole and those who served their terms out of prison and assisted departments concerned in implementing reform policies. On a regular basis, they visited people who were exempted from prosecution and earnestly educated them to help them turn over a new leaf and strive to be law-abiding citizens.

Through handling cases and social survey, procuratorial organs at all levels went deep into the masses to ascertain the movements of criminals and the trends of public security and studied the new situations, new problems and new experiences in the procuratorial work in the new period. They played their role as advisers by reporting to party committees on what they had learned and offering suggestions.

The contingent of procuratorial workers was strengthened. In the past year, we trained and selected some outstanding young and middle-aged cadres to assume leading posts. Procuratorial organs at all levels adopted diverse measures to

conduct in-service and outside training of cadres by rotation. Through the training and education, all the cadres and policemen achieved a rise in political consciousness and professional capability. The masses of cadres and policemen were tempered and tested in the course of work, particularly the work to deal blows at economic crimes. Therefore, a group of advanced persons came to the force who took a firm stand, who were upright and outspoken, enforced the law impartially and strived to create a new situation in their work. At the end of 1982, the procuratorial organs of the municipality selected 19 advanced collectives and 47 advanced workers. Generally speaking, a contingent of our procuratorial cadres is considered good if it is capable of implementing the party's principles and policies and the state law and fairly satisfactorily fulfills the tasks entrusted by the party and the state.

Last year, the procuratorial organs scored definite achievements in their work, but they still lagged behind the demands set forth by the party and the people and still had some problems in their work. The work to crack down on economic crimes and improve public security is deepening. As the tasks are arduous, we should fully understand the arduousness, complexity and protractedness of the struggle to crack down on economic crimes, overcome the fear of difficulties and the slack mood, remove numerous obstacles to resolutely handle major and appalling cases and deepen the struggle on a long-term basis. In public security, cases of hooliganism, rape and robbery are still conspicuous at present, a considerable part of criminals are juvenile delinquents and cases of people committing crimes again after they are released from prison or from education and reformation through labor are not unusual. In particular, cases arising from contradictions among the people which are not solved properly in a timely manner are on the rise. These are the new situations and new problems facing us. In the future, the procuratorial organs will follow the leadership of the municipal party committee and the supreme people's procuratorate and the guidance of the guidelines of the 12th National Party Congress to conscientiously implement the new Constitution, fully perform our function of supervising law enforcement and strive to improve the quality of handling cases. In order to meet the needs in the struggle, procuratorial organs should earnestly carry out reforms to improve their organizations, ideological style and work and make new contributions to creating a new situation in the procuratorial work, in protecting the people, in cracking down on criminals, in safeguarding public security and social order and in ensuring the smooth progress of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/860

NORTH REGION

BEIJING CITIZENS GET FREE LEGAL ADVICE

OW281235 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 28 May 83

[Text] Beijing, 28 May (XINHUA)--Braving early summer heat of 30 degrees centigrade, 1,200 lawyers, judges and law professors set up 37 free legal service centers in open air in the Chinese capital today, starting a two-day legal knowledge publicity activities.

Early in the morning legal specialists placed tables and chairs near the Beijing Railway Station and in shopping centers, parks and other public places. They gave talks and answered questions on legal procedures and gave advice on legal cases for property inheritance, divorce and other civil suits.

In a center in front of the Wangfujing department store, Bai Yufen, a young woman of 34, complained to a lawyer about a local court sentence to give her 4-year-old son to her divorced husband instead of her. Having heard her case, the lawyer volunteered to be her counsel to help her in her appeal for getting back her son.

Cui Hu, director of the Municipal Judicial Bureau and the organizer of the activities said to XINHUA: "Every one is equal before the law and the people should be well aware of the laws China has recently promulgated so that their proper rights will be protected and offenders will not escape from due punishment."

The centers were supervised by Zhu Jianming and Zheng Xiwen, both vice ministers of justice.

It is estimated that some 2,000 people have been given advice from morning till 4 p.m.

CSO: 4000/138

NORTH REGION

SHANXI'S SIXTH PEOPLE'S CONGRESS HELD

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "First Session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress Convened"]

[Text] On 13 April the 20th session of the standing committee of the 5th provincial people's congress decided that the first session of Shanxi Province's 6th People's Congress will be held in Taiyuan on 21 April.

This 20th standing committee meeting passed the Chairman members, Vice Chairman members, and a list of the remaining members of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Representatives' Credentials Committee. This committee is made up of 15 members. Hu Xiaoqin [5170 2556 3830] is serving as Chairman member; Zheng Xiaofeng [6774 2400 1496] and Tian Yuqi [3944 6657 1142] are the Vice Chairman members; and the other committee members are: Ding Yuchao [0002 5940 6389], Shen Jilan [3947 4764 5695], Xi Rong [6007 2051], Liu Fengqing [0491 7685 0615], Lu Shuxiao [0712 2885 1321], Li Mancang [2621 3341 0221], Yang Shanshan [2799 3790 3790], Wu Jichang [0702 0679 2490], Zhang Xihua [1728 6007 5478], Chang Xiuwen [1603 0208 2429], Fu Ying [1381 5391], and Cheng Zisheng [4453 1311 5110].

Ruan Bosheng [7086 3124 3932], Chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, presided at the meeting, and Vice Chairman Ren Yingcang [0117 2503 0221] gave an explanation for the establishment of a Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Representatives' Credentials Committee.

This meeting will also consider passing a draft of the agenda for the first session of Shanxi Province's 6th People's Congress, a proposed list of names for the presidium and the Secretary-General, and a proposed list of names for the proposed credentials committee. It will consider approving the report of the Shanxi Province People's Government on annulling the "Shanxi Province Temporary Regulations for the Registration and Management of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises." It will pass the approval of the "Temporary Stipulations for the Management of Gas for the City of Taiyuan Municipality." It will pass the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Representatives' Credentials Committee's investigative report regarding the qualifications of the representatives of Shanxi Province's 6th People's Congress. And it will pass other items relating to personnel appointments and dismissals.

9634

CSO: 4005/792

NORTH REGION

SHANXI CONDUCTS ROTATIONAL TRAINING FOR CADRES

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "Cadres in Provincial Organs Begin Rotation Training"]

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the provincial party committee, beginning 15 April cadres in office at the various units of provincial organs will begin to be divided into groups and study periods to concentrate their studies on three important theoretical books.

These three books are: "Selected Important Documents Since the Third Plenum," "Selected Articles of Deng Xiaoping," and "Selected Drafts of Articles by Chen Yun" [7115 0061] (covering the period 1949-1956).

This study program, under the direction of provincial party committees, will be divided up among various schools. The cadres will be released from production responsibilities to take part in the rotation training, and each study period will last one month. Through this study, the cadres will be requested to combine their studies with reality; conscientiously form general conclusions from their historical experience; distinguish clearly, among the professional guiding ideologies and systems of rules and regulations in the past, which were correct, which were erroneous, and which were correct in the past but unsuitable now since the circumstances have changed; and, from this, clearly determine the direction and path that reform will take in the future, and investigate and establish concrete programs for reform.

In the course of their study, they must also take care to resolve those ideological and theoretical problems which have universal significance. For example, since the Third Plenum, in what areas have Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought been developed?; What is the correct path for building a specifically Chinese socialist modernization?; the question of the role of reform in the four modernizations; the question of the relationship between the building of socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization; the question of the relationship between ideological construction and cultural construction in the building of socialist spiritual civilization; the question of the relationship between communist ideological education and the programs and policies currently in force; and the question of class and class struggle under the new historical conditions.

9634

CSO: 4005/792

NORTH REGION

SHANXI HOLDS TRAINING CLASSES FOR CADRES

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "A Number of Cadres in Party and Government Organs in the Southeast of Shanxi Enter Higher and Middle-Level Educational Institutions for Study"]

[Text] A number of middle-aged and young cadres from party and state organs in the southeast of Shanxi have entered special training classes for cadres being conducted at the Southeast Shanxi Professional School and the Southeast Shanxi Industrial Technical School, and have been released from production duties to study Marxist-Leninist theory and professional knowledge.

The 90 students entering the Southeast Shanxi Professional School for study come from various departments, party committees, and bureaus in the area, and among them are leading cadres such as deputy secretaries of the Communist Youth League and local party committees, heads of bureaus, and managers. On the afternoon of 1 April, this school held a ceremony marking the beginning of study for the special training class for cadres. Here, the students will systematically study philosophy, political economics, the comprehensive history of China, the history of the CPC, the history of the international communist movement, writing, Chinese language, logic, and an introduction to ethics. The students will study for a period of 2 years, on the completion of which those who qualify will be issued graduation diplomas, and will receive salaries appropriate to that educational level.

9634

CSO: 4005/792

NORTH REGION

DIVISION OF PARTY, GOVERNMENT WORK IMPORTANT FOR REFORM

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 83 p 4

[Article: "Conscientiously Put Into Effect a Division of Work Between Party and Government"]

[Text] Strengthening the party's leadership is the fundamental guarantee of realizing the four modernizations and building a specifically Chinese form of socialism. And putting into effect a division of work between party and government is an important measure for strengthening the party's leadership. Only by effecting a division of work between party and government will we be able to release the party from everyday administrative tasks and enable it to concentrate its energies on studying problems; executing the party's line, principles, and policies; and exercising truly effective leadership in important matters that have a bearing on the situation as a whole. If a distinction is not made between large and small matters, and the party has to deal with all of them indiscriminately; and if the work of the party and of the government are not separated, with the party being responsible for the government's tasks; then the result will definitely not be the strengthening of the party's leadership, but will certainly be the weakening of it. The party's leadership is, for the most part, ideological-political leadership and leadership with respect to guiding principles and policies, and should not be equated with the administrative work of the government and enterprises or with the direction of production.

At present, the work of reforming the organizational structures in our province is in the process of being carried out. Correctly resolving the question of the party's leadership of government organizational structures and other enterprises and units, and conscientiously carrying out a division of work between party and government, is an extremely important problem within the work of reforming organizational structures. In this regard, some departments have adopted some highly effective methods. And the method of Chu An Township in Renqiu County is worthy of emulation.

9634

CSO: 4005/792

NORTH REGION

TAIYUAN PARTY LEADERS CALL FOR TRUST IN INTELLECTUALS

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Zhao Xiushen [6392 0208 6500] and Zhang Jun [1728 6511]: "General Meeting Convened in Taiyuan, Decision of the Municipal CPC Committee and the Municipal Government to Bring into Full Play the Role of Intellectuals in the Four Modernizations Announced"]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon the Taiyuan municipal CPC committee and the municipal government held a general meeting for the purpose of promoting further implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals. The principal responsible comrades of party committees in all municipal offices, industrial enterprises and secondary schools or higher, and more than 1,400 persons, attended the meeting. Municipal CPC committee deputy secretary Xu Zhenhai [1776 6966 3189] read out a document promulgated by the municipal CPC committee and the municipal government entitled: "Decision to Bring into Full Play the Role of Intellectuals in the Four Modernizations." Municipal CPC committee secretary and Mayor Wang Maolin [3769 5399 2651] and municipal CPC committee deputy secretary Gu Wenbo [6253 2429 3134] also spoke at the meeting.

On the 26th of this month the Taiyuan municipal CPC committee and the Taiyuan municipal people's government issued their "Decision to Bring into Full Play the Role of Intellectuals in the Four Modernizations," in which they called upon leaders at all levels to work to achieve the following goals in connection with the implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals. One, deepen their understanding of intellectuals and respect and trust them. They must overcome the pernicious influence of the Left, the preference for small-scale production and other biases, establish the correct idea of respect for scientific and cultural knowledge and look upon taking realistic measures and improving working and living conditions for intellectuals as "the most basic capital construction." Two, this guiding ideology, which attaches importance to knowledge and intellectuals, above all should be reflected in organizational reform to make the cadre rank younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent under the premise of making it more revolutionary. Leaders should have the courage to promote outstanding middle-aged and young intellectuals who possess organizational leadership capabilities that make them suitable for leadership posts and to entrust them with important tasks. Leadership bodies of various government work departments and enterprise units should increase the proportion of specialists among their cadres to at least 30 percent

by the end of next year and they should do all they can do to achieve a proportion of 50 percent. Three, leaders should try hard to achieve maximum use of talent. They should smash the notions of "departmental possessions" and "carving up everything into pieces," organize a rational flow of activities and cooperate in making adjustments and recruiting employees in order to facilitate correction of the irrational situation in which workers' assigned duties do not match their education and strong points, and in which some units have more talent than they need and other units lack the qualified personnel that they need. Four, leaders should value investment in intellect, improve working conditions and reward achievements in scientific research. They should work energetically to create positive conditions for intellectuals and help scientific and technical personnel keep their knowledge up-to-date. Scientific and technical personnel at middle or higher levels should have three to six months of refresher courses and advanced studies every three years. From now on, intellectuals who make outstanding contributions or come up with significant inventions or innovations may, with the approval of their departments, be promoted and given raises in salary. Five, leaders should show concern for the intellectuals' living situations and be conscientious about resolving their difficulties in life. Scientific and technical personnel at or above middle level who come from villages may be transferred to cities group after group at different times. Those who work away from their home towns may gradually be transferred to work at their home cities. In the case of a scientist or technician who is not residing with any of his offspring, one son or daughter may be transferred to the place of his residence. To the maximum extent possible, it is necessary to give priority to solving housing distributions and giving attention to living space. High-ranking engineers and specialized personnel should be issued medical treatment cards. Six, leaders should be concerned with the intellectuals' progress. Party organizations at all levels should organize programs under which intellectuals can study the writings of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao as well as the spirit of dedication exemplified by Luan Fu [2940 5397], Jiang Zhuying [5592 4639 5391], Luo Jianfu [5012 0256 1133], Sun Yefang [1327 0396 2455] and other comrades. Party organizations should take responsibility for fostering comrades who show enthusiasm for joining the party and in time admit to the party those intellectuals who are qualified for party membership. Seven, leadership in work concerning intellectuals should be strengthened. The top and second-ranking leaders at all levels of the party and government should be personally responsible for work concerning intellectuals, heed the opinions, suggestions and demands of intellectuals from all sides and bring about a pervasive climate of respect for knowledge and intellectuals in the society.

9292

CSO: 4005/778

NORTH REGION

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS EMPHASIZED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Honorable Responsibility of Leaders"]

[Text] The "Decision to Bring into Full Play the Role of Intellectuals in the Four Modernizations" by the Taiyuan Municipal CPC Committee and the Taiyuan municipal government undoubtedly is an important step in the implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals. The general meeting of principal responsible comrades of party organizations at various levels throughout the city was a good first step toward resolution of the intellectuals' problems. We sincerely hope that this decision of Taiyuan will soon be put into effect and that leaders at all levels in other localities, cities and counties throughout the province will be able to take the initiative in implementing the party's policy on intellectuals and achieve results.

The CPC Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that placing value on knowledge and bringing into full play the role of intellectuals are keys to realizing the socialist modernization of our country. However, we are still encountering resistance in the implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals. Because people in some localities and units, in particular some leading comrades, still think of intellectuals as an "alien force" which "can only be utilized and should not be put in important positions," and some comrades call intellectuals "hard to get along with" and "hard to manage" and they even go so far as to spread rumors among the masses that work to the detriment of the implementation of the policy on intellectuals by causing idealistic, ambitious, dedicated specialists with talent to be uneasy and unable to give free play to their intelligence and wisdom with whole-hearted devotion. Even though the four modernizations have brought about important inventions and innovations, we still hear of persons making irresponsible remarks. Is it right for this state of affairs to go unchanged?

It is not strange that there is some bias against intellectuals among the masses, nor is it so terrible that there is mutual jealousy among intellectuals. The question is, what attitude should leaders at all levels adopt? Should they conscientiously eliminate the influence of "Leftist" ideology and enthusiastically guide and educate the masses or should they conscientiously or unconscientiously adhere to the erroneous viewpoint of the "Left" and spread prejudice against intellectuals? This is an important sign that indicates whether

or not a leading comrade is sincerely implementing the policy of intellectuals. We hope that party committees at all levels will conscientiously investigate the situation with respect to the implementation of the policy on intellectuals, that this strategically significant task will be on the party's agenda of important matters and that the implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals will receive close, conscientious attention. This is our historical mission and the honorable responsibility of every leader.

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CSO: 4005/778

NORTH REGION

NEI MONGGOL COMMENTARY HITS UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES

SK110602 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Jun 83

[Station commentary: "Resolutely Check the Unhealthy Tendencies of Extorting and Creating Difficulties for Peasants"]

[Text] Recently, the Bayannur League CPC Committee, in line with the directives of the Nei Monggol Regional CPC Committee, has strictly, resolutely handled a case which involved (Wang Liang), chief of the (Xiaozhuang) agricultural power supply station of the Linhe Power Supply Institute, and (Song Baode), chief of the (Langshan) agricultural power supply station, who took advantage of their power and positions to act wildly in defiance of the law, and to extort from peasants in an effort to seek private gain. The broad masses of people clapped and cheered after hearing this, while the cadres, staff, and workers of the power departments were shocked.

At present, cases of persecuting peasants occur not only in the power units, but also in some departments which directly serve agricultural and animal husbandry production, such as the water conservancy, communications, grain, and capital goods supply departments. Some units and individuals in these departments have taken advantage of their power and position to extort from peasants and herdsmen who have just become economically better-off, thus putting additional burdens on them and incurring great losses in agricultural and animal husbandry production. No locality should allow the unchecked spread of such unhealthy tendencies which greatly undermine the party workstyle and pollute social values, or tolerate and abet the evil doers. Resolute measures must be adopted to strictly investigate and handle such cases. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen ideological and political work, educate and mobilize the broad masses of cadres and the people to conscientiously struggle against these unhealthy tendencies.

One thing which is worthy of our attention is that, even now, leaders of some units still turn a blind eye and remain insensitive to cases of extorting from and creating difficulties for peasants which occur in their own departments and units. Some have held that handling cases involving the power, sugar, and water conservancy units is only a fuss over trifling matters. Some have felt that they are quite helpless in this regard, and some even have adopted a perfunctory attitude. This is absolutely impermissible.

Relevant departments at all levels, especially departments and units which directly serve agriculture and animal husbandry, must investigate and guard against such cases and strictly and rapidly handle all cases which have had an adverse influence in their own units. Struggling against such evil tendencies is one of the important steps in rectifying party workstyle. We must take this as an opportunity to reform unreasonable managerial systems, improve rules and regulations, and strengthen administrative supervision so as to enable all units and individuals which serve agriculture to fundamentally improve their service attitude and workstyle.

CSO: 4005/860

NORTH REGION

BRIEFS

BEIJING LEGAL SYSTEM CAMPAIGN--The Beijing Municipal Party Committee and government have decided to launch a campaign to increase public understanding of the Chinese legal system. The campaign, in the week from 24 to 19 May, will place particular emphasis on spreading knowledge of the current constitution. During the week, 37 information and advisory centres will be set up in the city and close suburbs offering consultative service to the public. More than 1,200 professionals, who are now being trained by various units, will be assigned to work in the centres. A government circular said the publicizing of laws and codes was an important part of China's socialist modernization drive. The municipal juridical bureau has formulated a working programme for the activities. The official of the bureau said one million copies of materials outlining the main points of the law giving some typical cases of law violation, and examples of how offenders are dealt with would be handed out during the week. [Text] [HK240130 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 24 May 83 p 1]

CSO: 4000/138

NORTHEAST REGION

STANDARDIZATION OF PARTY SCHOOL EDUCATION URGED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 83 p 1

/Commentary by staff commentator: "Do a Good Job on Standardization of Party School Education"/

/Text/ The second party school work conference of our province is now concluded. This has been an extremely important session, one which marks a historic turn in the implementation of the spirit of the second national party school work conference and the realization of the party school work in our province.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "After our political line is determined, cadres become the decisive factor." Our 12th Party Congress has formulated the correct line, principles and policies on bringing about an overall new situation in building our socialism. Today, the key question lies in whether or not we can select and train a large contingent of more revolutionary revolutionary, younger, more knowledgeable, and more professional leading cadres for the party and the government. To strengthen our party's cadre education and improve the quality of the ranks of our party cadres is of great significance to the replacement of our old leading groups by the new at present, and to the assurance of the succession and prosperity of the cause of our party. It is a strategic task that cannot be delayed; it is a project of vital and everlasting importance.

Our party school is an important battleground for training our principal leading core cadres for the party and government. We must build our party schools well with a spirit of reform and give full scope to the role of this battleground. After the realization of standardization, the basic task of our party schools is to arm our cadres with the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the party's principles and policies, and necessary modern scientific knowledge and entrepreneurship, to train for the party leading core cadres with Communist ideological consciousness, strong party character, good workstyle, and informed of the knowledge of construction in our modernization. Educational qualifications and results of study acquired from the party schools will be one of the indispensable conditions on the basis of which leading cadres are to be selected. The provincial party committee has asked us to gradually implement the following: all those who serve as principal leading cadres of the party or the government at the county level must have graduated from party schools run by the

provincial party committee; leading cadres at levels below the county must also possess corresponding educational qualifications acquired at municipal (regional) and county party schools. This indicates that party schools have a status and function in training which are different from other cadre schools and institutions of higher learning.

The most important thing in running a school is the selection of the principal and the teachers and the formulation of its educational policies. The educational policy of standardizing our party schools is now already determined; that is, we must change from relying mainly on short-term rotational training to relying mainly on standardized training or, namely we must, around the goal of training the leading core cadres for our party and government, carry out an overall reform on the series of questions ranging from student recruitment, the study system, curriculum, examinations and evaluations, to qualifications for graduation, and thereby gradually force a party school educational system with Chinese characteristics. And this is not something that the party schools themselves or certain departments can hope to accomplish. We must strengthen the leadership of our party and have all departments cooperate fully with one another in this regard. Take student recruitment for instance: this is the important ingredient of a party school administration. Just as fine raw materials alone can produce fine products, the party schools can only recruit fine talents if they wish to train fine leading core cadres. And this recruitment of fine talents requires consciousness in study on the part of the vast ranks of our cadres on the one hand, and the active conveyance of such talents by the various departments, especially choice selection by party committees and organization departments at all levels, on the other hand. The selection of principals and teachers also depends on party committees at the various levels for its solution. The present conditions of the teaching ranks of party schools at the various levels in our province are quite unadapted to standardization; we need to adopt firm, effective measures so as to change this situation in a short period. Otherwise, the standardization of our party school education can hardly be implemented.

We sincerely believe that, through the common efforts of our party organizations at all levels and through the diligent work of our party school working personnel, our party school work in this province is bound to create a new situation and supply your party incessantly with core cadres who are good at leading construction of our socialist modernization.

9255

CSO: 4905/817

NORTHEAST REGION

BOLDNESS OF VISION ON REFORM URGED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Apr 83 p 1

/Report by He Shanzhen /0149 3790 3781/: "Shenyang Municipal Party Committee Secretary Li Changchun /2621 7022 2504/ Says: In Carrying Out Reforms, We Must Have Boldness of Vision and Not Be Afraid of Taking Risks"/

/Text/ The newly appointed Shenyang municipal party committee secretary Li Chun, after seeing the report published in the 4 April issue of LIAONING RIBAO on the Shenyang municipal bureau of Machinery and Electrical Equipment submitting a contract on accepted management responsibilities to the municipal party committee and municipal government, happily said: this contract on accepted management responsibilities submitted by this bureau brings vitality to the undertakings of this bureau; it is exciting. It indicates that the reforms in the state organs in our municipality have taken the pleasing step toward the direction of the institutional and stational responsibility system that combined "responsibility, authority, and benefit" together; it merits study by our other bureaus. In undertaking reforms, we must have boldness of vision and not be afraid of taking risks.

Li Changchun said, after receiving the contract accepting management responsibilities submitted by the bureau of machinery and electrical equipment, we leading comrades in the municipal party committee and municipal government have held our respective meeting to study it and actively support this contract accepting management responsibilities on the party of the bureau to break the "iron rice down," take away the "iron chairs from underneath the cadres' buttocks, make up its mind to carry out reforms, and create a new situation; we have also organized personnel to help us study and solve practical problems. In the implementation of financial regulations and rules, concerned departments such as the municipal bureau of finance have, together with comrades of the bureau organ, proceeded to actually approve the progress of the 14 enterprises directly under their jurisdiction one by one so as to have the financial regulations and rules embody the principle of encouraging the advanced and stimulating the backward.

Li Changchun said, the municipal party committee and municipal government have already made the decision: by the end of the year, if the bureau of machinery and electrical equipment is to submit 3 percent of its profits

to the state treasury; the staff of the bureau organ would be issued a reward equivalent to one month's standard wage; if it overfulfills the planned quota by 5 percent, the staff would be issued one-month-and-a-half's standard wage as their reward. If the whole bureau fails to accomplish its profit-submission plan, then, according to the contracted terms, the basic wages of the staff of the bureau organ will be withheld and their year-end administrative expenses saved-up award will also be removed. If the contracted management tasks are accomplished, part of the bureau organ's staff, including the bureau's director secretary, may have their floating wage raised by one grade. If the tasks are not accomplished in time, consent will be given to the automatic suggestion of resignation then submitted by the bureau's director and secretary so that others will be selected and appointed in their place.

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CSO: 4005/817

NORTHEAST REGION

HARBIN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE CLOSE

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "Celebrating the Closing of the First Session of the Eighth Harbin People's Congress and the First Session of the Sixth Harbin People's Political Consultative Conference"]

[Text] After attaining remarkable achievements, the first session of the Eighth Harbin People's Congress and the first session of the Sixth Harbin People's Political Consultative Conference have come to a close in succession. In this session, the Harbin People's Congress thoroughly examined and approved work reports submitted by both the Standing Committee of the Harbin People's Congress and the Harbin municipal government, and also examined and approved the 1983 national economic and social development plan of the city. Resolutions have also been made on various other documents submitted to the session. Leading groups of both the Standing Committee of the Harbin People's Congress and the Harbin municipal government were organized and deputies to the Sixth Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress were elected. The first session of the Sixth Harbin People's Political Consultative Conference listened to speeches made by leading cadres of the Municipal Party Committee, examined the work report of the Standing Committee of the Harbin People's Congress, reviewed the remarkable progress made in its work in the past three years, discussed the question of how to further enhance the role of the People's Political Consultative Conference under the new situation, and elected a new leading group. These two meetings have realized the replacement of the old with the new and proposed new goals of our struggles. They were lively meetings which were in line with the spirit of carrying on our cause and forging ahead, democracy and unity, doing away with the old and establishing the new, and opening up a new path to march forward. We express our warmest congratulations to the complete successes achieved by these two meetings.

In the three years since the last Harbin People's Congress and the last Harbin People's Political Consultative Conference, gratifying achievements have been made in various kinds of work in the effort to bring order out of chaos. The focus in work has been shifted to economic construction. Both industrial and agricultural productions continue to register an increase and markets in both cities and towns are booming. The standard of living of the people has been improved considerably. Social security, social order and the general mood of

society have all obviously taken a turn for the better. Looking back on the work done in this period, we deeply feel that as long as the whole nation is of one mind to exert ourselves to open up a new path to march forward in the spirit of making courageous reforms under the guidance of the correct party lines and principles, our cause will have bright prospects.

In the face of the lively phenomenon appearing in our city, we want to express our heartfelt respects to comrades who have held leading positions in the Standing Committee of the last Municipal People's Congress, in the last municipal government, in the last Municipal People's Political Consultative Conference, and in other departments but live in retirement at present. Many of them have dedicated most of their lifetime to the cause of the construction of our city. Until today, they still have great inspirations, for which we are especially grateful. The new government does a better job in integrating the new with the old and further meets the requirements of the four modernizations. "Talents emerge generation after generation." There is no lack of successors to carry on our cause which is bound to grow and flourish. The people of the whole municipality place full trust in the new government with great hopes.

As one of the large key cities of the whole country and the political, economic and cultural center of the whole province, the economic and social development in Harbin should march at the head of the whole province in order to make a greater contribution to the country. We must conscientiously act in the spirit of this session of the Municipal People's Congress and make efforts to do our work well in order to gradually build Harbin into a socialist modernized city. This city will compose mainly of the mechanical and electrical industries. Other industries such as chemical, food, light and textile, as well as construction materials industries will also be key industries of the city. In this city, the industrial structure will be rational, trade in both cities and towns will be booming, science and culture will be flourishing, environment will be fine and clean, social order will be in a good state, and economic and social development will be harmonious.

In order to achieve the goals of our struggle and open up new prospects for carrying out the work in our city, we must carry on our cause and forge ahead, do away with the old and establish the new, and open up a new path and march forward. For this, we are required to do a good job in carrying out reforms in all aspects vigorously and initiatively in accordance with the principles adopted by the Party Central Committee. Reform is a very complicated task which involves all departments and areas. In carrying out reform, we must be determined, steady and meticulous. Leading comrades in all departments and units must make a thorough investigation and study, and conduct tests in person to enable them to solve new problems under the new situation based on experience gained in their successes. It is necessary to let the masses of cadres and people understand the principles, policies, measures and methods to carry out reform. We must also let them know what their own departments and units should do and what they themselves should do. Only by doing so can they accelerate their steps in conducting reform and achieving substantial results.

An important task in our effort to carry on our cause and forge ahead and to do a good job in reform is to select exemplary middle-aged and young cadres to

shoulder the responsibility of leadership and to realize the replacement of the old cadres with the new ones and cooperation between them. We must spread the idea that the old must love the young and the young must respect the old. Old comrades who are retired from the leading posts must from now on pay more attention to the study of important questions. They can give good advice and do a good job in passing on experience, giving help and in setting an example in training new hands. The middle-aged and young cadres newly emerged must be men of action. They must have a new mental attitude, a new workstyle and a new method of work. They must be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, make efforts to study, and accumulate experience in practice in order to improve their ability and do their job well so that they can justify the great trust placed in them.

To open new prospects and march forward will depend on human efforts. Still there are numerous practical questions which need to be resolved and a lot of difficulties which need to be overcome on the way to achieve the goals of our struggle. Socialism is a vigorous cause of millions upon millions of people. Our national economic and social development plan is designed to work for the well-being of the people. The most powerful guarantee for the implementation of this plan lies in mobilizing the enthusiasm of workers, peasants and intellectuals. In order to keep abreast of the new situation, it is particularly important to think highly of knowledge and intellectuals, to destroy the old and establish the new, and to open a new path to march forward. Since enthusiasm alone will no longer work, it is necessary to raise the level of science, technology and culture. This is the key. As long as the people of the whole municipality are of one mind and they are able to consciously shoulder their own responsibilities and to actively carry out creative work at their own posts, our cause will be full of promise.

"Thousands of mountains become beautiful when spring comes; everything looks fresh and gay when it is getting warmer." We are now at a time full of sunshine which is a time for us to do away with the old and create the new. Let us, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, carry on our cause and forge ahead, destroy the old and establish the new, and advance bravely in order to strive for opening up a new prospect in the construction of socialist modernizations in our municipality in an all-round way.

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CSO: 4005/781

NORTHEAST REGION

HARBIN RIBAO COMMENTARY ON PARTY WORKSTYLE

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "Lead at the Forefront and Rectify the Party Workstyle"]

[Text] The working conference of the Harbin Discipline Inspection Committee has conveyed the gist of working conferences of the CPC Central Committee and the Harbin Provincial Committee and decided the target of our work this year. This conference will definitely play a positive role to accelerate the realization of a basic improvement in the party workstyle in our municipality as quickly as possible.

Rectifying the party workstyle is a requirement in implementing the party's political lines which is an important mission of the whole party. Party committees at all levels must further heighten their consciousness in rectifying the party workstyle and deepen their sense of urgency. Everyone must do his job in person. Each level must be responsible for its own work and the higher level must lead the lower one so that each level will be conscientious in its own work. They must insist in turning this job into a regular practice and having it institutionalized. Strength in every aspect must be mobilized to make concerted efforts in doing a good job to rectify the party workstyle.

In this working conference, the Harbin Discipline Inspection Committee has proposed that the focus in our work this year will center on doing a good job in five kinds of work, taking vigorous measures to suppress three evil trends and implementing the basic improvement of the party workstyle. The focal point here is the leading cadres and those departments and cadres wielding real power. Comrades, especially leading cadres, who are in favor of evil tendencies must examine and redress themselves on their own initiative. Should they persist in their errors, party discipline will be enforced and they will be severely punished. Party organizations at all levels in the whole municipality and the masses of party members must heighten their confidence, inspire their enthusiasm, adhere to principle and dare to wage struggles against unhealthy tendencies so that we can take realistic action to safeguard the party's interests.

The leading cadres must display their spirit of daring to struggle in taking the lead to rectify the party workstyle. At present, it is necessary to resolve the question of the state of weakness of the leading groups. The outstanding

manifestations in this respect are many. First is "elusion." People dare not wage struggles against evil tendencies and they evade contradictions. Second is "chang." When violations of discipline happen to one's old comrades-in-arms, old senior officers, or to one's old subordinates, they can turn big problems into small ones and small problems into no problem at all. Third is "delay." They play for time in redressing their own errors until they are forgotten or they may delay the handling of difficult cases. Fourth is "covering up." They are indulgent and overlenient towards violations of party discipline and they even harbor evil deeds. States of weakness such as this present an obstacle to the basic improvement of the party workstyle. Party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership, support the discipline inspection departments to correctly exercise their own functions and powers in order to fully play their supervisory role.

This year is the first year to open up a new prospect for the construction of socialist modernizations in an all-round way. This year is also the first year to do all we can to realize the basic improvement of the party workstyle in five years. We must get a clear understanding of the situation, make definite our work, do our job in a down-to-earth manner in order to realize the basic improvement of the party workstyle in our municipality as quickly as possible.

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NORTHEAST REGION

ADDED EFFORTS TO BUILD HARBIN URGED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Mar 83 p 1

/Editorial: "Adhere to the 'Four-Self and One Joint Efforts' to Do a Good Job in Building Harbin"

/Text/ "Four-Self and One Joint Efforts" means each sweeps the snow in front of his own door; each plants trees in front of his own door; each drains the waterlog in front of his own door; each repairs the road in front of his own door, and all raise funds jointly to carry out urban construction. During the past three years, our municipality, under the energetical support of the municipal government, have adhered to this "four-self and one joint efforts" and achieved very great results. Practice proves that this "four-self and one joint efforts" approach is an effective policy to undertake urban construction under the conditions of our country's current system and in a situation in which our country's finance still faces difficulties.

The reason why this "four-self and one joint efforts" principle happens to be correct and why we must adhere to it is based on the following important guiding ideology in our urban constmuction; people's cities must be built by the people themselves, and cities are built for the people. Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out repeatedly: We must mobilize the masses to work on their own well-being. This is because the 10 years of internal disturbance have resulted in our leaving plenty of things undone in urban construction and living arrangements for the people. Accelerating the steps of our urban construction and solving difficulties in the life of the masses are required by the building of our two civilizations, and they are also urgently anticipated by the vast ranks of the masses. But, the financial and economic conditions of our country have yet to effect a fundamental turn for the better; it is impossible for us to use so much money to carry forward the building and reconstruction of our various public works in municipal administration simultaneously. In order to solve this contradiction, it is necessary for us to proceed from reality, fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the various enterprises, units, and the vast ranks of the masses. By adhering to the "four-self and one joint efforts," we should be able to fully tap our potentials in the various aspects of our society, mobilize the masses to work on capital accumulation and carry out creative and highly effective urban construction and reform work themselves.

The practice in our municipality proves that the "four-self and one joint efforts" principle is warmly supported by the vast ranks of the masses; the private enterprises are also enthusiastically supportive; the realms for construction are extensive; and a great deal can be done. Some comrades' purview is very narrow; their two eyes are used only to watch the fund allocations from the state"; they "wait in the first instance, depend on others in the second instance, and ask for funds in the third instance," forgetting to believe in their own power and refraining from mobilizing the enthusiasm of the masses themselves; this is bound to turn out fruitless.

According to our past experiences, we must in carrying out urban construction by exerting our "four-self and one joint efforts" adhere to the principles of voluntariness, receipt of benefits, and reasonableness. In districts where there is necessary for them to raise funds and jointly build their public works and facilities, efforts must be made, according to how great are the benefits to be received, what are the conditions of the individual economies, and other varying situations of the like, to proceed from reality and treat them differently, work out things according to their capabilities, and allocate their respective burdens reasonably. Definitely to be avoided are simplistic and rigid approaches, using the same method on everything, and giving compulsive orders. The urban construction departments, district governments, and street offices must all give full scope to their role in taking the initiative and setting up necessary bridges in the "four-self and one joint efforts." Following the requirement of uniform planning in urban construction and according to the practical needs of the masses, they must in a planned and orderly manner mobilize and organize units and masses within their respective jurisdiction to ameliorate their life and their environment. They must also pay attention to working methods and endeavor to enhance the results of their investment.

When one's orientation is correct, adherence to it spells victory. We must resolutely adhere to the principle of mobilizing the masses to work on their well-being themselves, continue to carry out the "four-self and one joint efforts," mobilize the enthusiasm of various circles, and create a new situation in our urban construction.

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CSO: 4005/810

NORTHEAST REGION

CYL ACTIVITIES, DEVELOPMENTS IN HARBIN REPORTED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Feb 83 p 1

/Report: "CYL Organization in Our Municipality Continues to Strengthen and Develop Itself: 14th Session of League Congress Convened Preparatory Meeting Yesterday"/

/Text/ Under the guidance of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, CYL organizations at all levels in our municipality have led League members, youths of the whole municipality to play the role of the shock troops in the building of our two civilizations; they have achieved results in both organizational building and ideological building.

Since the convening of the 13th session of the League Congress in 1977, the organization and construction of the CYL in our municipality have continued to strengthen: the cultural calibre, theoretical level, and professional capability of our League cadres have all scored conspicuous improvement. During the past 4 years there have been more than 110,000 youths joining the League organizations, and there have been more than 2,500 League members joining the CPC. During these 4 years, League organization at all levels have insisted on administering Communist ideological education to League members and youths; by the end of last year, there were already more than 3,500 youth-studying-theory groups throughout the municipality and more than 50,000 League members and youths participating in the study of Marxist-Leninist and Mao Zedong's works.

In the building of our material civilization, League organizations at the various levels have led the vast ranks of our youths to launch various forms of production and shock activities and "five-small invention" activities. During the past 4 years, there have been elected in the municipality altogether 4,396 New Long March shock workers at the municipal level, bureau, and division directly under the jurisdiction of the municipality.

In the building of our socialist spiritual civilization, League organizations at the various levels have led the municipality's League members and youths to extensively launch activities such as the "five stresses and four points of beauty," "three loves," "Learn from Lei Feng to Establish a New Workstyle," and "Be-My-Confidant." In the municipality, "Be-My-Confidant" groups have

already grown to more than 13,500. with nearly 100,000 youths and children participating in their activities. By the many forms of activity such as these Be-My-Confidant groups, "Learn from Lei Fent" groups, "At Your Service" squadrons, free air-pumping and tire-mending stations, CYL supervisory sentries, Red-Scarf Streets, etc., they learned about the Communist ideology and sought to nurture their lofty sentiments.

The preparatory meeting of the 14th session of the CYL Congress was convened this afternoon. The meeting heard the report on the state of the preparatory work for the 14th Congress. It examined the report on the way the qualifications of delegates are to be examined, passed the agenda for the Congress, and discussed and passed the lists of members of the Congress presidium and its convenor and secretary-general. The Congress formally opens tomorrow.

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NORTHEAST REGION

PARTY RECTIFICATION ACHIEVEMENTS COMMENDED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Mar 83 p 1

/Report: "Rectifying the Party's Workstyle, Leaders Take the Lead: Organs of Municipal Government Convene Party-workstyle Rectification Summing-up and Commendation Meeting: Five Bureau-level Leading Cadres are Commended"

/Excerpts/ At the party-workstyle rectification summing-up and commendation meeting for organs of the municipal government held on the 21st, five leading cadres of the bureau level and above were commended as advanced individuals on party-workstyle rectification. They are: Wan Hua /3769 0553/, chief procurator of the municipal people's procuratorate; Gong Ke /0361 0344/, chief of the municipal foreign trade bureau; Zhao Shangjun /6392 1424 6511/, chief of the municipal agriculture and forestry bureau; Lu Zhimin /0712 1807 3046/, deputy chief of the municipal education bureau; and Ma Ke /7456 0344/, deputy chief of the municipal second commerce bureau.

At this commendation meeting, there were altogether 48 comrades being appraised as advanced individuals in party-workstyle rectification; six units--the municipal procuratorate, the municipal medicine and drugs bureau, the municipal animal husbandry bureau, the municipal supply and consumption cooperative, the municipal construction material bureau, and the municipal education bureau--were recognized as units where party workstyle scored a further turn for the better; these units make up one-third of the commissions, offices, and bureaus among the municipal government organs. At this meeting, six units, including the municipal people's procuratorate, introduced their experiences in party-workstyle rectification.

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NORTHEAST REGION

RETIRING CADRES HONORED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Mar 83 p 1

/Commentary by staff commentator: "Let Us Salute the Departing and Retiring Old Cadres"

/Text/ Yesterday, more than 1,400 old cadres of our municipality were issued a "Old-Cadre Honorary Departure and Retirement Certificate of the PRC." These old comrades who have engaged in the revolution for several decades are endowed with insight and foresight; in the implementation of the party central committee's policy on replacement of the old cadres by the new, they have set a good example, consciously carried out the solemn duty history conferred on them, and fully demonstrated the lofty revolutionary sentiments on the part of the old cadres. Their conduct is glorious and earns one's admiration.

People will never forget that they have fought battles of life and death, leading a military life, spending their precious years of youth in the flames of warfare, and earning distinctions and merits in the establishment of New China. People will forget still less that in this earliest liberated city of the nation they have spent their fullest energy in breathing together and sharing their destiny with the people of the whole municipality, taking infinite pains in conscientiously building Harbin into "a pearl under the neck of the heavenly swan." Today, when people see their heads full of white hair, how can they forget their merits and contributions? In our prospering enterprises are steeped their blood and sweat; the people are grateful to them forever!

"Fallen and red petals are not senseless things; turning into spring soil, they still protect the flower tree." Departure and retirement by no means suggest an end to their revolutionary life; they open up, instead, a new stage in their Participation in revolution." While toasting to the healthy and long life of our old comrades, we at the same time wish them to retain forever their vigorous revolutionary will, continue to look after the party's cause, and, when their endurance permits, "engender electricity with their remnant power" so as to make their contributions to the building of our two civilizations. They may especially look after the growth of the middle-aged and young cadres, do a good job in transmitting their skills to them, helping them and spurring them forward so as to enable the middle-aged and young cadres to grow and mature rapidly.

Respecting elders and honoring the virtuous is a fine tradition of our nation; we must thus conduct ourselves especially in respect to the old cadres on the second and the third line. All units must see to it that they look after them politically and take care of them with priority in living arrangements, so as to enable the old cadres on the second and the third line to get the respect they deserve, to enjoy what they deserve, and to still do what they can even in their old age. Only thus can we foster in the entire society the fine atmosphere in which a cadre can ascend to office and retire from it equally with ease; only thus can we repeal the system of lifelong tenure; and only thus can we carry forward our reform work smoothly.

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NORTHEAST REGION

CADRES ENCOURAGED TO WORK HARD FOR ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Be Loyal and Conscientious to One's Duty During Organizational Reform"]

[Excerpt] Like other parts of the country at present, our province is carrying out organizational reform. This is a major affair of the whole party, a requirement for carrying out the four modernizations, and a key measure on which the long-range interests of the people depend. Every party member should during the organizational reform attach importance to the party's interests, actively take part in the reform, and become a promoter of such reform and not calculate his personal gains or losses. Whatever changes his work or office may undergo, he should invariably strive to obey the requirements of his work and obey the arrangements of his organization. When a decision has been made to dissolve or merge a unit or reorganize a leadership group, work that should be done should still continue to be carried out well; even if it means retreating to the second and the third line or participating in rotational training and study, the work should be done well at one's post and one should not because of the change, relax or even abandon his work and cause our undertaking to suffer losses.

During this organizational reform, the attitude of the old comrades plays a pivotal role. To borrow from historical experiences and do a good job in this organizational reform requires us to listen to the opinions of the old cadres to the fullest extent; to recommend the virtuous and the talented, foster new talents, and do a good job in replacing the old with the new, which depend more effort on the part of the old cadres. Some comrades say that the old comrades must "sing a three-part song" during this organizational reform; that is, "make way"--those who should retreat to the second line or retire should willingly step down; "select"--select fine middle-aged and young cadres to enter leading groups at various levels; and "lead"--the old lead the new by actively and enthusiastically train new cadres in order to enable them to mature as fast as possible. "Having new branches of the bamboo higher than the old depends entirely on the support of the old cadres." Some of the middle-aged and young cadres marching to their new leadership posts are still not bold enough in their work; some still encounter this or that kind of difficulties; they need as much support as the veteran comrades can supply. The old comrades, attaching greater importance to the party's long-range interests,

should willingly step down; this is a high ideological state; after stepping down, if they seek to do a good job in transmitting to others what they know, help them and carry them forward, that would be even still a higher state. If "remnant heat can still engender electricity," the "electricity" the old comrades can engender should best be transmitted and used in this direction.

Cadres of 50 years or so are at a time when they are most proficient in their undertakings. In terms of experience, they have more than that of younger men; in terms of energy, theirs is more vigorous than that of younger men. Most of them have already accumulated a wealth of knowledge and reach a higher professional level; they should play a larger role. Viewed from the present, cadres of 50 years or so are indeed playing their pivotal roles in their various posts. These comrades should fully realize the importance of their own responsibilities, make even more strict demands upon themselves, give full play to their wisdom and talent, and make greater contributions to the undertakings of the four modernizations.

Fine middle-aged and young cadres are those to whom the hope of our country is entrusted. Middle-aged and young cadres should establish their vision and ambition, study hard, work assiduously, continue to improve their theoretical and professional levels, and endeavor to turn themselves into fine successors. They should pay attention to enhancing their capabilities on the one hand and not neglect the demands of moral character on the other hand.

In sum, we must prevent the influence and interference of various mistaken ideas and make sure to do a good job in the major affair of organizational reform.

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NORTHEAST REGION

MARX'S CONTRIBUTION TO CHINESE REVOLUTION APPLAUDED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Feng Bingzhi [7458 4426 2535]: "Marx and China"]

[Text] Marx once said: "I am a citizen of the world." Indeed, Marx not only belonged to the country in which he was born, belonged to the people of Europe, but also belonged to the people of the world. With the anti-colonialist and anti-feudalist revolutionary struggle occurring in China he also expressed a profound concern. The period of Marx was during the historical period in which China was turning from an independent and completely feudal society into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society step by step. Marx analyzed the causes of this kind of change and also prognosticated the process of such a change. Marx held that a self-sufficient, closed-door natural economy is "the solid foundation of despotism in the East"; "complete isolation from the outside world used to be the primary condition for preserving the old China, but when this state of isolation was destroyed by force because of British efforts, what followed was bound to be a process of disintegration." Marx profoundly exposed the colonialist nature of the invasion of China by the capitalist powers; he told people that while this invasion of countries of the Orient by the capitalists also promoted the development of capitalism in those countries, it was bound to bring to the masses of the people there especially great sufferings. That is to say, the reason why the colonialists invaded the Orient was definitely not to turn the feudal countries of the Orient into capitalist countries but to establish their own colonies and semi-colonies.

Marx analyzed the causes for the outbreak of the Taiping Tianguo rebellion and, through an analysis of the influence the Chinese revolution was to have on Europe, also expounded the idea of interconnection and interdependence between the national liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies and the revolutionary movements in Europe; this served to lay the theoretical foundation for the proletariat on the national and colonial question. Said Marx: "The effects of the Chinese revolution on Europe this time is bound to be far greater than the effects engendered by all wars in Russia, Italy's declaration, and the secret societies in continental Europe all combined." "The next uprising of the people of European countries, their next struggle for republican freedom and for more honest forms of government may to a larger extent well be decided by the events that are taking place in the celestial empire...." "I can therefore boldly predict that the Chinese revolution will throw a spark

on the land mines of the modern industrial system which are just about to explode and thereby cause an outbreak of general crisis which have long been smoldering. Once these general crises spread externally, what follows would be political revolutions in continental Europe."

In the process in which China fell to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, capitalist powers of the West started many wars against China and whipped up a mad rush to partition China. Marx angrily attacked the wars of piratical plunder against China started by Britain, France, Russia and countries of the like, refuted the various pretexts under which the capitalist powers started those wars, made accusations against them to the whole world about the towering crimes they committed in China, and exposed the methods and approaches by which they carried out their colonialist policies in China. Such an uncompromising struggle set a glorious example for the proletarians and toiling people of various countries.

With his own great theory Marx armed the proletariat of the whole world and also armed the people of China. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought Marxism to China; from then on, the Chinese revolution changed its outlook. The Chinese Communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong followed the principle of combining the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete reality of China, created the special forms and concrete path of the Chinese revolution and construction, and pushed forward the great theory of Marxism. Marx had pointed out: "The proletariat establishes its own rule by overthrowing the bourgeoisie with violence"; the Chinese people, by applying this principle, followed the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside and ultimately seizing those cities and thereby achieved the victory of the revolution. Marx held that, after overthrowing the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must establish its proletarian dictatorship to carry out socialist democracy; the people's democratic dictatorship under the people's congress system practiced in China is precisely this special form of political power created through a long period of revolutionary struggle. Marx held that the proletariat will take advantage of its own political rule to seize step by step all the capital of the bourgeoisie and concentrate all means of production in the hands of the state. Proceeding from the reality of China, our party has creatively opened up a path for socialist transformation suited to China's characteristics. Marx likewise held that after seizing all the capital of the bourgeoisie the proletariat must "enhance all productive forces as fast as possible." Our party has summed up our historical experiences of more than 30 years of tortuous development, determined the strategic goals, strategic steps, and strategic emphasis and a whole series of correct principles and policies for us to continue to carry out. Today, what we can report to Marx with comfort is that 1 billion Chinese people are striving courageously forward for the building of a socialism with Chinese characteristics under his ideological guidance.

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CSO: 4005/799

NORTHEAST REGION

HEEDING PEOPLE'S DEMANDS, WISHES URGED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Listen to the Voice of the Masses"]

[Text] The work on overall reform which we have already begun is a great pioneering act to build a socialism with Chinese characteristics. In order to accomplish this pioneering act, we obviously need to have the thinking of the broad masses of people further emancipated and to give even fuller scope to their creative spirit and wisdom and talent. Actually, we can already see now that the thinking of the broad masses of people has rarely been as active as it is today; their creativity in building socialism is exploding forth like a volcano; various new demands, new experiences, suggestions, and conceptualizations from the masses of the people are being put before leaders at all levels every moment. Under such circumstances, there is need especially for the broad masses of cadres, leading cadres at all levels in particular, to bring into play the party's traditional work style of keeping close contact with the masses by paying attention at all times to listening to the voice of the people, understanding the wishes and demands of the masses, and operate according to the wishes of the majority of the masses. Only thus can we break through those old conventions constraining our minds and better emancipate our thinking, destroy the old and establish the new, and blaze our path forward; only thus can we correctly, profoundly understand the party's principles and policies concerning reform, maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee; and only thus can we stand at the forefront of the trend of reform and become the promoters of reform.

What makes one happy is that, along with the completion of the task of bringing order out of chaos in respect to the party's guiding ideology, with the gradual turn for the better in our party work style, the majority of cadres, leading organs and leaders of our province have greatly enhanced their consciousness in this regard. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the reason why our province has been able to continue to make progress in the various aspects of our reform work and, especially in the promotion of the various forms of agricultural production responsibility system, to achieve development by leaps and bounds in a short period, most recently after only a few years of experimentation, practice, and preparations and thereby bring about a vigorous new atmosphere in our vast countryside is inseparable from this point.

However, we should see that there are also some comrades who have not done enough in this regard. Thinking that since they are the leaders of a certain level, a certain unit, they often blindly believe that their own policies and their own views are naturally more correct. Hence, they often fail to pay much attention to listening to the voice of the masses or to understanding the wishes and demands of the masses. Or, even though they hear the voice, views, and demands of the masses, they often confuse the correct aspects and the incorrect aspects thereof together, or even regard the former as a reflection of the backward ideas of a small minority and hence fail to absorb therefrom the rich nutrients so as to improve their own thinking and leadership capability. For this reason, either they fail to find the paths and methods for reform, or the progress of the reform work turns out to be limited, and its effects very small.

How are we to change such a situation? There are two questions which we need to resolve here:

One is to clearly recognize the relationship between the implementation of correct leadership and the understanding and realization of the wishes and demands of the masses. What is the relationship between the two? They are closely connected and cannot be separated at any time. It may be said that the former is the concentrated manifestation of the latter, and the latter is the fundamental groundwork for the former. As a party cadre, especially a leading cadre at any level, one should and must have one's own views and policies about the questions and matters in one's own realm of work. But, such views and policies can only come from the basis of deepening investigation and study and profound understanding of the wishes, demands, experiences, and creations of the masses, and they are in turn attentively tested in mass practice and corrected at all times according to the results of such test; only thus can they be correct ones. If one fails to do so, whatever level one may be at and of whatever aspect one may be serving as the leader, and however fine one's subjective wishes may be, one still can hardly avoid committing the mistake of subjectivism or being divorced from the masses, divorced from reality. Our past experiences and lessons in this regard have been too numerous, indeed; they need to be committed to our fast memory.

A second is to be good at analyzing the views and demands of the masses. We cannot deny that among the views and demands expressed by the masses, some are often mixed with the backward ideas of a few people; toward such views and demands, we can only carry out persuasion and education and not to adopt them readily as correct opinions. But we cannot just because of this ignore the wishes and demands of the majority of the masses. We say that we are here to serve the people; were we to depart from understanding and realizing the wishes and demands of the majority of the masses, it would be hard to realize such a fundamental purpose. We say that only by relying on the power of the masses can we accomplish various tasks in our construction work; were we to depart from the wishes and demands of the majority of the masses, it would be impossible to derive such power. We say that we proceed from reality; were we to depart from the wishes and demands of the majority of the masses, that would be departing from the greatest reality. History and our experience also repeatedly indicate that among the tasks, principles, policies, plans, and measures we propose, whenever they can realize the wishes and demands of the

majority of the masses, they can also be smoothly implemented and achieve expected results; whenever they depart from the wishes and demands of the majority of the masses, whatever our subjective wishes may be, whatever language we may use to describe them, and whatever means we may adopt to implement them, we can never secure smooth implementation or achieve our expected results; and in the end, we still must return to the wishes and demands of the majority of the masses. Meanwhile, we should also perceive clearly that even the views of a few people which cannot represent the wishes and demands of the majority of the masses are not necessarily without reason, and still less necessarily a reflection only of backward ideas. They often also reflect the special circumstances of a certain place and a certain time, and hence also constitute the basis for us to adopt different measures according to different situations. Therefore, with respect to the voice of the masses and views and demands of the masses, we must adopt a very prudent attitude, analyze them carefully, and make sure to judge them with correct criteria. What cannot be grasped firmly temporarily, we should go among the masses to investigate and study it and put it into practice to test it, and then decide on it. We must especially be vigilant toward the malpractice of listening only to what suits me but ignoring whatever does not suit me, and be vigilant toward the fact that some tend to do just what their superior likes and hence resort to the bad work style of substituting the false for the genuine and the nominal for the substantial.

Paying attention to the above questions and solving them will be beneficial to our better listening to the voice of the masses, understanding and realizing the wishes and demands of the masses, and thereby catching up with the trend of reform and promoting the steady development of various tasks of our reform.

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